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horse or dog could eat the flesh of man, for all three are similar') and such animals and vegetables as are considered poisonous.

Snakes are regarded with a certain amount of affect, though on the whole with less than might be expected. To see a snake, particularly the *pamol-beu* (a black non-poisonous snake) approaching you is a bad omen, and should it enter a house it foretells a death in that house within the year. All dreams are meaningful, and snakes in dreams have an ominous significance. Snakes do represent a considerable danger, for they are fairly common, particularly in the lower valley and in the forest, and cultivated land is always surrounded by low scrub and secondary growth in which snakes can and do hide. I was frequently asked for medicine against snake-bite, particularly by hunters, but always as a preventative, for there were no serious cases of snake-bite while I was there, nor did I hear of any fatal ones. The Lepchas know of a dioeceous plant which is believed to cure these bites, but apparently they have not much faith in it. Snakes occur very little in mythology and fable, and have no overt phallic significance; the most common phallic symbol is the maize cob, which is almost a rude word.

ii

Lingthem monastery is a two-storied rectangular building standing on an artificially levelled terrace about 5,500 feet above sea-level, with its principal façade facing north. The first building on the site was erected in 1855 but it has since been rebuilt three times. The first building was made by Panloak, the grandfather of old Serving, the last of his line to be head of the village; the first and second renovations and enlargements were made under the direction of learned lamas who had travelled from Tibet; the third and greatest alteration was made fifteen years ago under the direction of, and to a great extent at the expense of, the Muktair, the dead father of Tafoor and Chudo. The rebuilding was done entirely by local labour in the three winter months, with help from neighbouring villages. The material was paid for chiefly by local subscription helped by donations from the State and the British Political Officer and the structure when completed was free from debt. The monastery however still owes Rs. 600 to Lhassa for the copies of the sacred books, and the heirs of the Muktair still owe money to the money lenders for the sums the Muktair undertook personally for the materials which had to be bought and for the big metal

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house is built is soft the house-mother will die. It is bad if there is not a hill between the north and the east because you will get the wind.

'*Choten* and *Mani* ('Mani walls' and prayer flags) should never be placed to the east or the inhabitants of the house will die, they should be on the north and west. It is good if the hill behind be covered with trees. It is bad to have a red cliff behind to the south; people born in the year of the Horse or the year of the Snake will be particularly troubled. (This can be averted by elaborate ceremonies.)

'It is bad if there is standing water below the house which will reflect the light; if there is, gold, silver and copper should be put in the water. It is bad if water seeps through the ground below the house, above it does not matter. It is bad if there is a cave to the north or west; for that would be the home of Mamoo *moong* (a malevolent female devil). It is bad to be below a pass between two hills, with a land slip below you, this is a devil's road. It is bad if there is a juniper tree (*sanden koong*) to the west, . . . etc.'

When an intending builder has chosen a site which fulfils these general desiderata, he has still to find out whether that site will be propitious for him personally. To do this he digs up a small piece of earth from the intended site, concentrating fixedly all the time on the question of whether the ground is good-omened or not, and takes it to a competent lama[9] who will then consult the book *Tong-yoop* and cast a horoscope to see if the site is suitable in relation to the intending builder's horoscope, reckoned by the various year-cycles.[10] If the first site chosen is not propitious others must be looked for until a suitable one is found. It consequently follows that all other considerations are secondary; it is better to be near a stream (for water for domestic use and also in case of fire) and to have suitable ground near for a field-garden, and, if possible, to be near friends and relations; but the verdict of the lamas comes first.

When the site is finally determined upon the lama carefully replaces the sample of earth, and then offers *cherkem*—that is mixed grains floating in strained *chi*—which is thrown on to the ground

[9] In Lingthem only Tafoor and the two Dorjé Lapoon knew how to cast this horoscope; the Lharibu Chujen of Panung was the only lama in the neighbourhood to possess or be able to read Sachet Zai Putta.

[10] See Chapter Seven, pp. 209–212) and Appendix III.

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much relation to what the other workers are doing. Men, women and children all work together, and the task proceeds in a rather haphazard fashion, to the accompaniment of a constant fire of jokes, most of them obscene. When the work is finished all those who have helped are given a feast.

Attached to some households and fields is an ambivalent supernatural called *Thyak-dum* (white head). If this supernatural is good-tempered and contented he will bring health and prosperity to the home, and possibly, though people are not so sure about this, punish marauders in the family's fields; if he is angry he will bring disease and loss to the people who neglect him. Consequently when people live in a new house they must find out if *Thyak-dum* lives there, and if so, if they can control him. His whereabouts are discovered by a Mun going into meditation and seeing his presence mystically. If the house-owners can control *Thyak-dum* they will burn butter and incense leaves on some embers, and then sprinkle these embers with water and tell the supernatural to go away. If this fails they will make the *lafét* sacrifice (this sacrifice recurs constantly in the ceremonies of the Mun). On a wicker winnowing tray are placed banana leaves, and on top of them three rows of ground corn, and pieces of ginger, wild bird and dried fish; this offering is dedicated by a Mun who also offers *chi* in a cup ceremonially buttered; after which the sacrifice is taken to the top of some high place and left there, uneaten.

In some houses however it is divined that though *Thyak-dum* is present the house-owner cannot control him. In such cases a little house has to be built for him, standing in the fields near the house. This 'devil's house' consists of a miniature Lepcha house about two feet wide, thatched and made of bamboo, raised about four feet off the ground on four bamboos. Nobody except the sacrificer (preferably a Mun, but any man who knows how and is not a lama will do) must touch, or even go too near this 'devil's house'; were anyone to do so they would become seriously ill. Twice a year, when the barley and when the rice is ripe, sacrifices must be placed inside this devil's house; the sacrifice consists of the fresh grain, together with meat, fish and silver money. When the new sacrifice is made the old one is removed and thrown away; the money however can be taken back into use. Besides these sacrifices a special pig must be kept penned for *Thyak-dum*; this pig is always called the pig of *Thyak-dum*. When it gets old it must be replaced by a young piglet; the old one is killed, and its cooked

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the ages of fifty and thirty; the remaining seven are between twenty and thirty and for them there is still some chance of producing a child, for though copulation normally starts at or before puberty the average age for bearing the first child (worked out from the women of Lingthem) is over twenty-two; there are only three instances of a woman bearing a child before she was twenty. Most exceptionally for a primitive community it was possible in Zongu to get the exact age of every individual for the following reason. It is absolutely essential for participation in all lamaist ceremonies for every Lepcha to know in which year of the twelve-year 'animal' cycle[17] they were born, for this affects birth and marriage, the diagnosis of disease, the suitability or otherwise of individual exorcists, and many other occasions in ordinary life. Also after he has completed his third (or exceptionally his fourth) cycle—that is to say when he is 36 or 48—it is obligatory for a Lepcha to make prophetic consultation as to the hazards and misfortunes which await him in the next twelve years. Although no Lepcha can state his age in years, everybody knows their 'animal' year, and with few exceptions, which can be checked by cross-reference, the number of cycles they have completed.

I have not been able to make up my mind as to the reason for the great sterility of the Lepchas. It would seem as though it were the women rather than the men who were sterile, for in the greater number of cases of a man remarrying on account of his first wife's sterility the second wife has borne him children. A suggestion put forward by some Lepchas with whom I discussed the matter, though others considered it absolutely ludicrous, is that sterility may be due to premature copulation. The Lepchas do not recognise and have no word for physical puberty, and most of them believe that the signs of female puberty (swelling of the breasts and beginning of menses) are the result of copulation and that therefore girls have to be copulated with in order that they may develop. A number of people admitted (if they were women) copulating with men when they were only ten or eleven, or (if they were men) more or less raping young girls. A number of the sterile women however emphatically deny such premature experience, and I have no reason to suppose they were lying; and anyhow on the medical evidence it seems doubtful whether such premature experience would cause subsequent sterility, though it might render childbirth more difficult.

[17] This will be more fully explained in the next chapter; see also Appendix III.

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incur supernatural dangers, it is not the wrong-doer alone who is involved, but the whole of his family group; punishment is seen if members of a person's family die or suffer, even though the evil-doer survives himself. Indeed according to Lepcha ethics it could be said that anti-social acts are graded according to the number of people they may affect; only for acts of minor importance is there personal and individual punishment which falls on the evil-doer.

On some subjects there is agreement between the two religions, notably on the ambivalent nature of supernatural beings; in both religions the supernaturals are divided into three categories, mostly benevolent, neutral, and mostly malevolent. The supernaturals which are mostly benevolent are called gods, *rum*, those mostly malevolent devils, *moong*; but both agree that if the gods are displeased they take on a terrifying and threatening aspect, and that the best way to deal with devils is to flatter them temporarily by treating them as gods; and whether gods or devils are prayed to the ceremony always ends by begging them vehemently to *go away*. Whatever their chief aspects the supernaturals are potentially dangerous. The ambivalent supernaturals, such as *Thyak-dum*, or Hlamen Djémé (a lamaist supernatural equated with the Mun spirit), are called either *moong* or *rum* according to the personal dealings of the speaker with them at that moment.

Lamas and Mun are also agreed on the meaningful and prophetic character of dreams. The dreams of everybody are significant for those who have the knowledge to interpret them; the significance lies, not in the actions of the dream (as a rule), but in the seeing of certain objects which have a symbolical meaning. The causation of dreams is however different for the two religions, as is to some extent their interpretation; for the Mun dreams are sent by supernaturals, for the lamas they are the experiences of the soul released from the body by sleep; unbound by space or time the soul has experiences with the souls of other people, supernaturals and objects, and, on its return, informs the body it inhabits. For the Mun the soul is a very vague concept, practically only having an independent existence after the death of the body; the lamas however know all about souls.

The content of dreams can be divided into two classes; those that foretell some future 'natural' event, and those that foretell the presence of some, usually dangerous, supernatural. For the latter some apotropaic ceremony is usually available and in some cases essential; according to the supernatural indicated the ceremony will be performed by a lama or Mun.

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essential; according to the supernatural indicated the ceremony will be performed by a lama or Mun.

The following objects seen in dreams are lucky: gathering sand, collecting wood, seeing a woman with a big goitre: they foretell a good harvest; to put on new clothes or gather firewood or to have stones thrown at you mean the acquisition of property. Solid excreta indicate a good buckwheat harvest, liquid ones that the harvest will be destroyed by storms. To be covered with filth indicates coming wealth. To dream of climbing or going up hill is propitious. If you dream you are cut or are given silver it means that you will the next day be given a present of *chi*. The following objects are unlucky: a sick person lying down indicates a bad harvest: a tooth coming out means a relation will die, if from the right side of the mouth a paternal relation, if from the left a maternal; hair coming out or even combing hair also foretells death. A neighbour pounding rice foretells a death in his house. To dream of drinking foretells rain. A lake, swimming, or falling into water all foretell illness. A river foretells a message from the State authorities, agreeable if the water is clear, disagreeable if muddy. To dream that you are excreting in public means that your relations are slandering you. Being naked in a crowd foretells illness, as do dirty or ugly people. The setting sun foretells the death of kings. To dream of the dead foretells illness, to dream of a landslide, death, and also to dream of picking fungus. A dream of a red cloth or red flower means you will cut yourself, to dream of chicken's droppings means that some one is going to poison you. The list could be continued almost indefinitely.

Specially ominous dreams are: to dream of a kite or of men flying (this indicates the presence of Shook-sor *moong* and demands a ceremony by a Mun): to dream of fire (this indicates illness and also demands a ceremony by a Mun): to dream of a storm blowing into your house and lifting off the roof (this indicates that you are the object of malicious sorcery and lamas must perform ceremonies): to dream of going down hill carrying a load (this foretells illness; lamas and Mun can both avert it): to dream of a snake (this foretells danger and needs elaborate lamaist ceremonies); and so on. These specially ominous dreams are fortunately rare, for it would be considered dangerously rash to neglect the proper ceremonies. For less strongly ill-omened dreams it is permissible to make a hole in a leaf of a special species of wild arum and spit through it; this will avert the danger.

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787 The interpretations of certain dreams are emotionally neutral: other dreams are said to be meaningless. Thus to dream that a living person is lying dead merely means that the person dreamt of is lying sleeping with a full belly. To dream that you yourself are flying means that you have inadvertently eaten birds' droppings. Meaningless dreams are dreams of running, of local landscapes, of naked people, and so on. Everybody with whom I discussed the subject denied the existence of dreams with a manifestly sexual content, whether permissive or incestuous, or of committing crimes; the only sexual dream allowed for is the woman's monthly dream of copulation with a supernatural. If a man's wife is sleeping with an unpermitted partner the man will be apprised of the fact by dreaming of the big wooden ladle which is used for pouring the water on to the *chi*; if the partner is a permitted one the man will not have this dream, but he may suffer from diarrhoea; in that case he will ask his wife to procure a portion of the 'younger brother's' clothing which he will wear; this will clear up the symptoms.

Everybody dreams to a certain extent, but this varies with the individual; it is believed that much dreaming foretells a long life, and little dreaming a short one. There is no necessity to try to recollect dreams if they are dim or forgotten on waking. According to lamaist theory the child in the womb dreams continuously about its previous incarnation; it thinks it is going to be born and makes up its mind to inform its parents of its future plans; but when the cord is cut most of this knowledge goes; just a little remains in the infant's dreams, but that too disappears before he has learned to talk.

As an illustration of the interpretation of dreams I can give two prophetic dreams which were made about me on an occasion when I was slightly unwell with a stomach upset, followed by a head-ache. Both the dreams were told to me by the dreamers as soon as I saw them, and before I had said that I had been unwell; Tafoor indeed came to see me because of the dream. He had dreamed that while we were living in the monastery he and the other lamas came up to practise their musical instruments for the reception of some great lady. The doors opened outwards instead of inwards, and beside them was some dried buckwheat. These were sure signs that there was illness in the monastery.[1]

[1] It may be of interest to record that the last three times that he saw me Tafoor said on each occasion that his heart was heavy about me and that he feared that when I left I should have some misfortune or illness. At the time

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●787 Kurma foretold my headache with the following dream: he saw me walking along the riverbank with his mother-in-law, came to salute me, and I gave him a silver rupee. Later in the day I asked him to repeat the dream which he did as follows:—'The Sahib[2] dressed in his usual clothes went to the valley with my mother-in-law. I was coming from the forest along the river and I saluted the Sahib with joined hands[3] whereupon he presented me with a silver rupee. I then said to my mother-in-law "The sahib has come to see us: what can we set before him as a present?" My mother-in-law replied "The sahib has come to walk and to fish in the river; we have nothing suitable for him—no chickens, no eggs. What can we give?" After that I woke up.'

The interpretation of the dream was fulfilled; to dream that you are given silver means that you will get a good drink of *chi*, and this was fulfilled when Kurma called on the Mandal earlier in the day to discuss village affairs with him. The mother-in-law in my company showed that I was the victim of a female devil Langteun *a-nyou* who brings head-ache and eye-ache and thirst. Any ugly or dirty or badly-dressed woman represents this devil; the fact that it was his mother-in-law was without significance.(!) Had the head-ache persisted I should have hired a Mun to drive the devil away with offerings of *chi* and incense.

776 779 The demonology and, to a lesser extent, the hagiology of lamaism and the Mun religion are unified by a system of cross-identification in the two mythologies. Devils, and to a lesser extent gods, in one mythology are equated with differently-named supernaturals with similar attributes in the other. It thus happens that supernaturals have nearly all two names at least; but for Lepchas, as has been said, names are impermanent and without significance and no discomfort is felt from this. Some extraordinary tangles result from these identifications: the most popular lamaist god, called alterna-

I put these remarks down to courtesy. In fact, however, I was taken ill within a week of leaving Lingthem and had to go into hospital almost immediately on returning home. I did not recollect Tafoor's repeated prophecies till some months later, when going over my notes.

[795] [2] The polite Lepcha term for a European is *Sé-pano*, which I believe to be a corruption of Sahib. *Pano* means a king, but the first syllable is apparently meaningless. The less polite word is *mik-dum*—white eyes. Europeans or fair people in dreams are good-omened, dirty people ill-omened.

[576] [3] The two hands cupped together and held in front of the breast is a respectful attitude and gifts must always be received with joined hands, to indicate that the gift, whatever its nature, is overpoweringly large.

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dead man's soul on its journey through the other worlds after death. The Dorjé Lapoon are supposed to have renounced the things of this world; they are meant to be without property and to renounce such as they do possess; their nourishment is meant to be looked after by the other villagers; and, since they are meant to be fairly ascetic, it is expected that the Dorjé Lapoon will feast the other lamas yearly on their superfluity. Both *omzet* and Dorjé Lapoon can perform the mystic ceremony of *kong-so klon*: this ceremony, performed fasting in a dark room to make up for arrears of duties left undone and to appease the devils in the neighbourhood, is believed to be fraught with considerable danger which would result in the death of anybody not properly qualified who tried to perform it. The rank of *omzet* corresponds fairly closely to that of bishop; but as far as I know there is no equivalent in the Christian hierarchy to the rank of Dorjé Lapoon.

There are about twenty lamas attached to the monastery of Lingthem; eleven live permanently in the village, two others more or less permanently; the rest live in neighbouring villages. The two Dorjé Lapoon are the father of Datoop and the 'big father' of Tafoor; they are always addressed and referred to by their title. Tafoor and Ongden are *omzet*, Tafoor being by far the more learned; Datoop is *chichembu*, Lumba *chithembu*, Jiroong *chéné*, Chudo and Pembu *kané*, Chanko (Ongden's eldest son), Chano and Takal *chapti-bu*. All the *tongpeun-bu* live in the neighbouring villages. Chano and Takal are both full-grown men—Chano is thirty and Takal fifty-seven—but they are both too stupid to rise above the lowest rank. There are four boys studying to become lamas: they are Lumba's eldest son Kutt'r, aged eighteen, Tafoor's eldest son Chimpet, aged fourteen, Chano's eldest 'son' Mikmar, aged thirteen, and Chudo's eldest son aged four. The last named has not yet started to learn to read, but he is dressed in lama's clothes, and he plays on the floor at conducting services; this is considered to be a most auspicious omen, and when he does start studying he should learn quickly and easily.

Corresponding with the hierarchy of lamas there is a hierarchy of nuns (*in-é-bu*). Each rise in grade carries the same validating feast of a load of *chi*, 40 lbs. of grain and ten lbs. of oil or butter. The titles are similar, but they are completely pointless. Nuns cannot conduct ceremonies or perform exorcisms; in a very few of the lama's services, chiefly those connected with death, they have a subordinate role. There is no sort of compulsion or prophetic

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793 calendrical services, and ministering to the sick or threatened as individual necessity arises.

Lamas are meant to perform various private devotions when they wake in the night, early in the morning and in the evening. Tafoor and the second Dorjé Lapoon were aware of these duties, but I naturally have no evidence as to whether they or any other lamas did in fact perform these devotions. Also during the day 778 when a lama is alone and unoccupied he is meant to tell his beads, 788 repeating *mantra* hundreds and even thousands of times. Lamas always wear a rosary of one hundred and eight beads with a couple 787 of attached smaller objects; during ceremonies these rosaries are worn round the neck; during work they are often twisted round the wrists. They are used for devotion in exactly the same way as a Roman Catholic rosary, as a memento of the number of prayers which have been said. Rosaries are also used for divining; the rosary is thrown on to the ground and picked up at the place where it has fallen into a coil; the beads are counted from this place to one of the attachments by twos or threes; the presence or absence of a remainder gives the answer to the question divined. In the case of illness a twig is brought from the invalid to the diviner; the twig is placed on the ground and the diviner holds the rosary to his forehead, concentrating on the devil which he thinks may be disturbing the sufferer; the beads are then thrown on to the twig, and those between the bead touching the twig and one of the attachments counted; if the answer is negative the procedure will be repeated with the diviner concentrating on another devil. Rosary-divining is not confined to lamas; Mun and Padem also have divining rosaries but they are made somewhat differently, with red beads interspersed among the black and with different attachments; knowledgeable laymen also are able to divine by rosaries, if they have received *loong* from a qualified teacher. The rosary is considered in a way more personal than the other sacred implements—bell, skull-drum, sacred dagger, 'thunderbolt'—which the higher lamas have to possess and employ in different rituals; those of old lamas possess a certain talismanic virtue.

796 The lamas have to visit the monastery twice every Tibetan month; on the 10th. a festival is held in honour of Guru Rimpuché and on the 15th. in honour of Kinchenjunga. The feasts which accompany these festivals are meant to be given by a pair of householders in turn, so that from the villages of Lingthem and Panung each householder is responsible for half a communal feast every

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858 dying before the age of about ten are usually said to be reincarnations of dead people whose life was cut short before it had attained its full span (for the Lepcha the normalhuman span of life is four score years) and have therefore returned to the world as a human being to finish their term of life before proceeding to their next incarnation. Although live children are so insignificant, dead ones
775 turn into num-een *moong*, almost the most malevolent and dangerous of all devils. As a generalisation it may be said that in so far as human beings remain attached to this world after death, it is as devils, and, the younger the dead person, the more dangerous the devil he may leave behind. Even seeing dead people in dreams (unless they are climbing snow mountains, which indicates that their souls are entering heaven) is dangerous; for the simulacra of the dead are in reality the devils which caused the death.

755 In the case of minor physical injuries no religious cure is
751 employed; but more serious accidents, such as falling from a tree or a high rock, are considered to be due to malevolent supernaturals and exorcisms have to be performed to avert the repetition of such injuries for the sufferer or other members of his household. If one member of a household dies a violent death the survivors should repeat annually and at the birth of each new member of the family certain apotropaic rites. It will be remembered that a propensity to violent death, like a propensity to being chased by a bear, is an
[582] hereditary taint which must be guarded against in selecting a marriage partner.

●787 Horoscopes differ somewhat in their emotional affect from the other lamaist ceremonies. They are obligatory and implicitly believed in and have very considerable influence on the life of the person for whom the horoscope is cast. The first horoscope is cast on the third day after a child's birth; in this is determined the child's character, future employment and span of life, and also those illnesses and dangers with which he is threatened and the ceremonies that the parents must perform to avert these dangers. The second horoscope is cast at the instance of the parents and uncles before a marriage is arranged to see that the conjunction of the joint horoscopes is not endangered by unfavourable omens. This is the least compulsive horoscope of all; there are at least twelve signs in it which can be positive or negative and in by far the greater number of horoscopes the signs are mixed; only if the sign for children is entirely negative will the marriage almost always be abandoned. The third horoscope is cast when a person has completed his third, or occasionally

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787 fourth, twelve-year cycle to discover what is foretold for the next twelve years, and, in the event of illnesses or misfortunes being threatened, to perform the indicated apotropaic ceremonies. These consultations are repeated every twelve years. The final horoscope is cast immediately after death; this shows the cause of death, the future state of the man's soul and his next reincarnation, the most propitious mode of disposing of the body, the direction in which the body should be carried and the people who should handle it, and also what ceremonies should be performed to prevent the death-causing devil from attacking further members of the household, or, if the devil has gone elsewhere, into whose house the devil has entered.[9]

Though entirely mechanical the casting of horoscopes is an elaborate and difficult business which entails the collating and interpreting of a great number of cross-references. In Lingthem the only lamas who know how to do so are the two Dorjé Lapoon and Tafoor, and in nearly all cases it is Tafoor who is consulted.

787 805 Years are reckoned by four different and independent cycles: the most important, and the only one laymen know of is the twelve-year 'animal cycle'; next in importance comes the ten-year 'element' cycle; the importance of these two reside in the fact that a person is considered to possess the qualities of the animal and element of his year, and in horoscope conjunctions these qualities are of the greatest importance.[10] There are also two independent nine-year cycles founded on different magic squares (*mariwã and parrko*) so that, calculating by the year alone there are 9,720 different combinations. Besides the year calculations there are also calculations for the hour (of birth or death), the time (morning, midday, evening, etc.), the day, the month, the stars, the birth number, and so on. Altogether there are between ten and sixteen cross-references, depending on the elaboration of the horoscope, which can be made to check, counter-check and modify one another. Any apparent contradictions arising from the various modes of calculation are resolved by being explained as contingent.

[9] Complete horoscopes for birth, marriage and death will be found in Appendix III.

[10] The animal cycle is Rat, Ox, Tiger, Eagle, 'Thunder-bird', Snake, Horse, Sheep, Monkey, Fowl, Dog, Pig. The element cycle (each element lasts two solar years) is Fire, Earth, Iron, Water, Wood. 1937 was Ox year and the second Fire year; 1938 Tiger year and the first Earth year.

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Lamaist horoscopes, like European ones, are automatic in their application, and, in the event of two or more people being born or dying in the same hour the horoscopes will be identical. The Lepchas thoroughly believe in the validity of the horoscopes and almost always carry out their instructions implicitly. It is believed that the defectives are abnormal because they or their parents neglected the indicated precautions.

It is only with the ceremonies prescribed by horoscopes that the possibility arises of a Lepcha failing to perform indicated ceremonies. Lamas come spontaneously to assist the soul of a dead man, and their presence, though usual, is not essential on any other occasion; in the case of present or threatened illness or danger the sufferer summons the lama to perform the requisite ceremonies; if for any reason he did not wish to perform the ceremonies he would not send for the priest.

On the whole the extent of employment of lamas by laymen depends on the personal inclination and beliefs of the layman in question. The greater number of lamaist ceremonies demand less expenditure than equivalent ones by Mun, since they do not involve the killing of animals. This generalisation must however be modified in one particular. Apart from jewels the only possible method of conspicuous expenditure for the ambitious is the erection of a lamaist altar in the *dé-ong* of his house and the purchase of the Boom or some other anthology of the lamaist scriptures. Once these are installed the visits of lamas at fairly constantly recurring intervals are essential for the reading of the scriptures and the performance of the necessary rites. Scriptures have to be read four times a year and since no layman can read, lamas have to be hired, feasts given to them and fees paid to them. This expense can only be stopped by selling or giving away the sacred books or objects.

Belief in horoscopes does not induce a feeling of fatalism, for every misfortune foretold carries with it its appropriate remedy. Unless a layman's child is predestined to become a lama people usually know nothing at all of their own first horoscopes, nor do parents usually remember for long the horoscope cast for their children. I never heard of an instance of an angry parent or elder sibling reproach a child because of the expense it had necessitated, nor throw in their face their unfavourable forecast. Even when people were trying to convince me of the validity of horoscopes they never quoted the realisation of past horoscopes, but only the

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781 negative results which occurred through not following their instructions. Not even Tafoor had any knowledge of his first 787 horoscope, though he could have re-cast it if he had been curious.

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785 The higher lamas, the *omzet* and Dorjé Lapoon, perform mystic exercises for the good of their soul and to acquire supernatural powers. These exercises consist firstly in acquiring the requisite instruction and then being immured in a specially prepared and completely dark room called *tyang-gong* for a certain period. While they are immured they naturally see no light at all; for periods up to a fortnight they fast completely; for longer periods food is handed through a series of doors so arranged that no light and no possible contact with the external world reaches the mystic. During the whole period the lamas naturally cannot wash; a hole is especially prepared in the floor through which they can excrete.

As has already been explained this discipline is used for short periods for the ceremony of *kong-so klon*; it is also used for some other similar rituals. It was employed by Tafoor in order to obtain his supernatural power of stopping (or rather moving on) rain. Tafoor received his preliminary instruction from his 'big father', the second Dorjé Lapoon, who had been taught by a third lama who had learned the art in Tibet. When his instruction was complete a *tyang-gong* was constructed inside his house (there is a permanent one on the upper floor of the monastery) and Tafoor was immured. For ten days he did without food, drink or sleep, concentrating his mind on the special words and 'thoughts' that he had been taught, and counting his rosary. During the whole time the other people in the house had to take every precaution against his hearing human sounds or voices. At the end of the tenth day the second Dorjé Lapoon read the proper holy books, offered *cherkem* to the devils, opened the *tyang-gong* gradually, and fed Tafoor on boiled and powdered rice and milk. For two days Tafoor could not eat solid food; he was very weak and thin when he came out of the retreat.

789 Tafoor is now the only lama in the whole neighbourhood who practises the sending-away of rain; his uncle naturally knows how, but nowadays he concentrates exclusively on stopping hail. While Tafoor is keeping away the rain he must stop indoors concentrating; nobody must speak to him while he is doing this, nor may any

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each household. There are however a few ceremonies when a Mun sacrifices and prophesies for the whole community; but all that I have seen or heard of are adjuncts to lamaist ceremonies.

In the Cherim ceremony which is held twice yearly, once at the beginning of the rains, and again at the beginning of winter, to keep off illness from the community, three separate rituals are performed, two by Mun, and the third by lamas. The communal nature of these sacrifices is emphasized and at least one individual from each household has to be present, and each household contributes a little of the grain. So that the Mun can participate the ceremony is held on neutral ground, when I saw it on March 28th., by the *choten* below the monastery and just outside the sacred precincts.

The first part of the ceremony consists of an offering to the devils: this ceremony is called *rum* after the name given to the chief article of sacrifice. This is a large basket filled with earth and covered with a banana leaf into which are inserted a number of varied articles with eight[11] of each sort of article: 'devil's walking-sticks' consisting of decorated bamboos with flowers inserted in holes, containers of water, milk, tea and *chi*, pieces of mica, stems of wormwood decorated with threads, fresh eggs, heaps of grain, and dried bird, dried fish and ginger. There are also offered two *ta-ming* which consist of long sticks to which are attached wrapped in leaves samples of every sort of food and drink. When the offerings have been made the Mun, sitting opposite them, intones a long chant to invoke the gods, and then takes the eggs and holds them to his forehead while he shuts his eyes and concentrates; the line which he envisages inside the eggs foretells the future health of the community. In the spring of 1937 Gongyop saw 'a fairly straight path' which signifies that there will be a mild epidemic of stomach trouble. Four years ago, when there was a bad epidemic of dysentery he saw 'a curved, almost spiral path, with a knot at the end of it.'

The second ceremony, also performed by Mun, consists of offerings to the Gods of Kinchenjunga and the Plains, and is called Tsandong. The offerings consist of rice, butter, *chimi*, a rupee and eggs. The sacrifice is in two parts; first grain and strained *chi* are thrown out by the Mun and her assistant (in March 1937 Pumri was assisted by old Kahlyeu) and later a goat is dedicated and then killed.

[11] It may be noted that for Mun and lama odd numbers are lucky, even unlucky.

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whether the infant is a boy or a girl by the fact that a boy is always higher in the womb. The sex can also be diagnosed by a Mun at about eight months when the Mun *péks* the body of an expectant mother.

The sex of a child is, however, not really fixed; its sex can be changed for that of another child in the womb either with the consent of the parents or surreptitiously. This is done very simply by a pair of expectant fathers or mothers exchanging any article. Tafoor's two middle daughters should really have been boys; when his wife was carrying the eldest daughter who was then a son, a lama from some way away asked him to change; Tafoor refused, whereupon the lama surreptitiously exchanged tassels on his rosary. The result was that a daughter was born, but with a boy's character which will continue until she has slept with a man; she climbs trees, kills birds, makes bows and arrows and has a large frame more like a boy than a girl; she is indeed considerably taller than her brother Chimpet, who is two years older. The second boy-in-the-womb Tafoor exchanged voluntarily with his younger brother Chudo, who had already had one daughter and whose wife was pregnant with another daughter; the exchange was successful for both parties. This exchange, however, cannot be performed if the two pregnant mothers are blood relations. This belief, which is universally held, is, I think, another excellent illustration of the Lepcha attitude towards the correlation of sex and temperament; sex is a question entirely of the primary sexual characteristics and nothing more.

Quickening of the foetus is merely diagnosed as a sign of life; but if a child moves a great deal inside the womb the forecast is that when it is grown up he or she will be excessively lascivious.

Miscarrying is caused by a devil Sor *moong* and is an hereditary sex-linked disability (as indeed is difficult delivery). As soon as a woman has miscarried she, unless she is seriously ill, and at all events her husband, must carry the foetus down to the river accompanied by a Mun who will there *pék* the couple with a bunch of elephant grass to which coloured threads, two rings, a rupee and a turquoise have been attached. On returning home an animal must be sacrificed and the Mun will *pék* the couple again. The wife is considered 'unclean' after a miscarriage and must be well washed and fed on chicken soup and butter. Ordinarily after the sixth month of pregnancy the mother will be *pék* by a Mun to avoid miscarriage as a routine precaution. If a woman who has mis-

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its father it is a strong presumption that the begettor of the child is the person to whom it bears so striking a resemblance.

Some time during the day and usually fairly early the child's horoscope is cast by a lama. For this the lama may be summoned to the house or the father may go to visit the lama with 14 lbs. of *chi*. The approximate hour of birth must be noted for the proper casting of the horoscope. A lama may cast the horoscope of his own child. In this horoscope will be found the child's 'sacred name', what ceremonies are necessary to be performed by the parents to avert any threatened evils and also the future career of the child. The colour of the sash given to the child depends upon the forecast of the lama; thus a baby who is going to be a lama will be given a yellow cloth, a hunter a red cloth, and so on.

A woman whom the baby will call 'aunt' ties on its wrists three threads, one black, one white, and one red to which a snail shell is attached. When the child gets a bit older and stronger the snail shell is put on its necklace. This snail shell is a refuge for the baby's soul when the baby is sleeping; for like its owner the soul cannot move quickly and if it is frightened or pursued by demons it may not be able to get back into the body in time; therefore the shell is provided for the soul to crawl into; the demon cannot pursue it there. This snail shell is worn until the baby throws it away of its own accord. The bracelets of coloured thread will be left on till they drop off; if they get too tight they will be enlarged. At the same time the child is given a little necklace; if it is a boy the necklace will have three small beads of turquoise, if a girl three small beads of coral. To this necklace is attached the child's navel-string when it sloughs off; if it sloughs off before three days have passed it means that the child will die young; but if it stays on longer than a week it is a bad omen and means that the child will probably be foolish. The sloughed navel-string is tied up into a piece of cloth and attached as a tiny packet to the necklace. It is very bad indeed if the child should lose this sloughed navel-string before it throws it voluntarily away; if it does so as soon as it is able to crawl it will go looking for it everywhere, scratching about in the ashes and upsetting the cooking stones, and will always have its eyes on the ground and be unobservant. On the third day also the child's occiput is smeared with butter and soot scraped from the bottom of a cooking-pot to make the fontanella close; this precaution is absolutely essential. I was told that the mixture is only put on once, but it was clearly visible on a child over a year old.

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two to *asék* a woman of forty were also considered funny. These two old stalwarts were, however, somewhat exceptional; most Lepchas after the age of seventy abandon all such thoughts and actions. I question whether the generally expressed fear of surviving one's strength into extreme old age is in any way consciously connected with the fear of losing potency.

The Lepchas' attitude towards sex is extremely forth-right and unemotional. They openly equate sexual activity with eating, saying that the one is as natural and as necessary as the other; and they tend to treat both activities as of about equal emotional importance. Sexual activity, unless it forms part of a larger pattern of give-and-take, sets up no social obligations between the two parties; neither is considered to be indebted or especially benefited, and copulation entails no further duties. The Lepcha attitude to a transitory sexual partner is summed up in the Edwardian smoking-room joke: 'Since when does sleeping together constitute a social introduction?' The Lepchas are much occupied with sex; it is the subject of much of their conversation and nearly all their humour; it is regarded as almost as essential as food. Sex is intended to be exclusively sensual and almost impersonal; the culture makes no allowance for deep personal relationships passionately adhered to between sexual partners. If sex becomes emotionally serious it is always a nuisance and, if either of the partners are betrothed or married, it may be disastrous.

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The majority of marriages take place in the autumn months after the harvest is gathered; a few, however, take place at other periods, particularly second marriages, which are usually celebrated an exact calendar year after the death of the first spouse. It is necessary to find an auspicious day for the marriage, taking into consideration the birth years of the two contracting parties. Should a relation on either side die on the marriage day it is a bad omen, and signifies either the sterility or early death of the wife.

The groom's family usually spend several months before the date fixed in collecting the necessary food and animals. Just before the marriage date (the number of days before depends on the journey necessary) the groom goes with his *bek-bu* to his bride's house taking with him the hind leg of a pig, a scarf and a rupee as a present for his mother-in-law. On his arrival the sisters and other girl friends

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APPENDIX III

(*a*) Birth Horoscope

(Towards the end of my stay in Lingthem since the children whose birth we expected did not arrive I persuaded Tafoor to cast the horoscope of an imaginary child born at six o'clock in the morning of Sunday, May 16th, 1937, which is in Tibetan on the 6th day of Gubu, Ox year (*long nam*) and Fire year (*mi nam*). Nowadays Tafoor casts most of the horoscopes; the other two lamas who know how to are the two Dorjé Lapoon.)

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BIRTH. KITSEN.

Long nam (12-year cycle). The child will insult others; will sleep continuously; will soil its bedding; will be a naughty child. Will be very talkative and curious, prying into other people's business. He will be quarrelsome and inclined to fight; will have dreams of destroying the whole world. Will only think of himself and won't do good to others, will be a bold-faced speaker. Will pretend to knowledge that he does not possess.

Mi nam (10-year cycle). If he has a very big body he will have some defect; he will be blind or deaf or will limp, or something like that. He will eat a great deal. He will live to the age of seventy-one, if he manages to pass the eight hazards (*parchet*) which lie in front of him. He will suffer from a cold and cough almost at once. Any fields or animals in his name will prosper. He will be troubled by Ginoo *moong* (jealousy). He will have one son and two daughters. He will suffer from pain in the heart.

Mariwā.[1] His number is eight *nirga gumma*. In his last incarnation he was a puppy; his owners were *ginoo-chen* (very greedy people). When he grows up he will not lose money, he will prosper. He will be miserly and won't even give to beggars. He will be a very fecund speaker. He will get goods from others without paying for them—property and lots of clothes. Should people give him a black cloth or black thread or a black hat Chumjé *moong* (this is the

[1] This is a calculation for the year and also for the day based on the magic square. Each year has its own Mariwā with a different arrangement of numbers and a different centre number and colour which counts as the principle of the year; the day of the month is reckoned starting from the centre and then with the number above and then clockwise round. Each number has a constant colour. Thus for *long nam* the whole year is 9 and red and the sixth is 5 and yellow. There are nine different Mariwā which produces an independent 9-year cycle.

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787 same as num-een *moong*) will follow the gift and will trouble him and his children will die. He will have no desire for food. He won't build his own house; he will live with and on others and will make others work for him. He will be envious of others and will try to acquire their property and their clothes. He will try to make others work for him and will get property from others. He will rejoice in the presence of learned lamas. His birth will cause his parents *yong nyom* (general loss); therefore they must perform the ceremony of *yong-keuk*; should they fail to do so he will either die young or be like a beggar.[2] When he grows up he must give many feasts. If he learns to be a lama then in his next incarnation he will be a man so rich that he won't have to work and he will have very many relatives. He has a mole either on his head or on his waist.

[2] Tafoor added 'Like Sangkyar, this prediction was made for him; his parents did not do the ceremony and see him now!'

Day of the week—Sunday. If he doesn't die on the seventh day or in the seventh month he will live to be seventy-one. He will honour his parents and superiors. His wife will be the daughter of a rich man.

Sahar—Stars. There are thirteen stars. Should he die at the age of twenty-eight it will be because he has to fulfil the gap in some previous reincarnation. He will dance and sing. He will have a loud voice—louder than cymbals—especially when he has drunk. He likes to possess good food and drink and dress; he does not care for other people and will be envious of their prosperity. He will not tell lies. Nobody will be able to argue with him or quarrel with him; he will be able to crush everybody verbally. He will covet all pretty women. He will have a bad eye and pains in the body and limbs.

Satarr—auspices of the day. He will be a great speaker and explainer.

Tendré—birth number. Tendré sipa. Should he survive his tenth day, his tenth month and his ninth year he will be the head of a big village. He will be wealthy and will have no diseases. If people think bad things about him they will not dare say it to him. He will be given poison which will cause his death on Sunday at twelve o'clock midday.

Body sign. He was born at the sixth hour and therefore the sign is on his heart and he will be very rich.

Name. Karma Tsu-Ten. This is a holy name and must not be told to others.

. . . . . .

Notes: The horoscopes for all children born on the same day are identical except for the signs which depend on the hour. The apparent contradictions are reconciled by the fact that all statements are contingent: i.e. he will have good health except for the diseases mentioned; he will have no appetite but will covet other people's food and will eat out of greediness . . . etc. 'Every word is true.'

. . . . . .

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(*b*) Marriage Horoscopes

Forecast of marriage of Tafoor. Tiger and Water year, and his wife, Horse and Fire year.

O X wife will die before husband
O O both will have good health
O
O O They will have many children
O X their property will be moderate only
X X they will have short lives
O X if his wife is ill he will be able to help her.

For another marriage, the man Dog year and Iron year, the woman Ox year and Water year.

O
O O both will live long
X
X O but their health will be indifferent
O O they will be very rich
O O exorcism will be successful for them
X but their children will die.

(*c*) Death Horoscope

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(This is also an imaginary horoscope for a man aged seventy-three and therefore *kalok nam*—Rat year—dying on Sunday, 16th May.)

Sooksa dyeu adum nyetka mak—time of death. Died from being given *chip-tsok*—unclean food. His soul is being eaten by Tseng and Gebu supernaturals. Before his death there was an evil sign such as a python in the house or a cock crowing at night, or a big tree falling tip towards the house, or a fireplace falling through on to the earth.

Lyoo deu anok kat ('The lake of his soul was dry'). Much property was expended over his illness. His death was caused by his failing to give a feast. One sister was his enemy and made him either quarrel or go to war.

Ongtong lyoo adum nyet. At the end of his life there was a quarrel between Kado Palor *rum* and Deut *moong* for his soul, whether he should be allowed to live or die. Tamseu Pongseu *moong* took his soul away and gave it to Tongryoong *moong*, who is like a tiger, to eat. At the time of his death he was thinking about his youngest son.

Loongto dyeu adum nyet. Either he had been given a red cloth or a piece of meat, or he had been given a black hat by a Mun ku-man-bu (sorcerer); this made unhappy Palor *rum* and therefore the *moong* took his soul. He was preoccupied about his male relations on the father's side; therefore these people should perform for him the ceremony of Karbo Tookdeu Klon (a white *deu* on a *pong-ring*).

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787 *Hour of death.* He died at dawn, six o'clock. Had he lived till eighty he would have lived his full life; since he died six years earlier this was caused by devils. As the man was lying ill he wanted some food like butter or meat; but Sandé *moong* ate his soul, and is still lying there watching the food. His body must be cared for—washed and anointed—by people born in Tiger or in Thunder-bird year. Sandé *moong* has gone south from the house where the man died to another house where there are four humans and a blue horse tethered in the yard.[1] These people should summon three lamas to kill this

[1] Note by Tafoor; since there are no horses in the neighbourhood this can be ignored.

Sandé *moong*. The people of the house where he died must do the big ceremony of *Shidook ryak* or in four months Sandé *moong* will return again.

Day of death—Sunday. In ten days he will be reincarnated as a tiger and after that again as a human. Three months before his death Tébrong Pano took his soul and gave it to the devils.

Time of death—Sunrise. Three months before he died Deut *moong* ate his soul. The Deut Tsen *moong* was conveyed in a gift of gold or an animal's skin. The devil is still in the neighbourhood and the object should be thrown away. In eleven days he will be born as a tiger. As he lay dying he thought about his youngest child born in Fowl year, therefore this child should make an image of Sandé *moong* and of a snake and take it to a place where two roads cross and bury it. Sandé *moong* is in a leather bag hanging on the east side of the house. For the dead man the scripture Dorjé Chudo should be read; if that is read he will be reborn as Sangé Eusung *rum*; if it is not read he will be reborn as a pig in the east. The people in the house where he died must perform the ceremonies of Deut Sha-gu and Su-nen (killing an insect with a sacramental dagger) or they will be troubled by coughs.

Month of death—Gubu. The devil which ate his soul came from the west in the skin of a tiger or some other animal. As he lay dying he was preoccupied with a big ox and a big horse,[2] and a yellow cloth. A person who possesses

[2] Note by Tafoor: this probably means a mule.

these objects should perform the Dopu ceremony and make *nahleut* (a dough image stamped with butter) on a plate.

Mariwâ Parrko.[3] He died in *Sin* (the syllable in Parrko). He was thinking

[3] The Parrko is another square on which the years are counted. It is a 9-year cycle independent of all the other cycles. Each year has its controlling syllable.

of a handsome box which had valuables in it of which he was fond. He was worried either about his wife or his youngest child and regretted leaving that person. Sandé *moong* has gone south to the male relatives or the biological sisters of the deceased. Death was caused by Jamfi *moong*—a devil of high mountains. There is a piece of meat or bone close by the body which should be buried with it. The devil was brought from the west in the skin of a tiger or some other animal. He regretted leaving his youngest son and daughter. One Sandé *moong* has gone to a maternal uncle, one to his eldest sister and one is still in the skin. At the house where he died they must do Subdok Tukdo Klon (make a *deu* and take it away to the east) and Gon-tsoo To-goo (dough stamped with *leut* and *deu*) and the scripture Tongbo Gen should be read; also

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Gebu *faat* (a Mun ceremony of throwing a *thomu*—lump of dough—to see which way the end points) should be performed. 787

Corpse. The corpse should be buried; it would be bad for it to be burnt.[4]

[4] Note by Tafoor: 'If the corpse were a lama's it would be burnt just the same.'

On the corpse must be put a paper inscribed with 'Parrko sin chagyou'. The corpse must not be shown to others. Since the corpse is an old man the door of death is open; if it had been a child the door would have been closed.

Mariwâ Gumurr. Sandé *moong* is living in a red milch cow. The ceremony Onchook Tsoo Deurr must be done and also Yong Kook (this is three *pong-ring* with *dau*, etc.). He died at sunrise. To the south there are many devils. To the north there is a man with big earrings, or else a mole on his ear or nose and with curly hair and a red dress, whose name is Num; the devil has gone to him.

Sahor Tachen—Stars. The devil who caused death followed a woman from the north-east. Therefore on the corpse should be a paper stamped with a horse from the *lokor* (the 12-year cycle).

Corpse carriers should be Horse or Snake year.

Removal of corpse. The corpse should be taken out of the south-east corner of the house.

. . . . . .

Notes: When Sandé *moong* is driven away ceremoniously on the third day the bag in which the devil resides should be taken with the offering and left for two days—after which it can be re-taken into use. All apparent contradictions are explained by being cumulative or by being contingent.

(*d*) Lama's Divination for Illness

May 1st. Chano came this morning to consult Tafoor about his wife, born in *heu nam* Snake year (1905), who was ill, and also his youngest daughter, who was born in *kik nam* Fowl year (1931) and was suffering from stomach ache. Taking their dates of birth and the present date as his data, Tafoor worked out the following diagnosis of the causes of their illnesses and the measures to be taken to cure them. The explanations were added afterwards. 787 755

Wife. The drawing of the first diagram showed that the illness was caused by Sabdok Loo *moong*, by Dadé *moong* (other names Nanjet *moong* and Tom-joong Deut *moong*: it is an evil spirit sent by an enemy), and from Tamsi *moong*.[1]

[1] Tamsi *moong* is the *moong* who causes quarrelling and wars. To keep away quarrels and kill this *moong* a piece of paper is stamped with the printed effigy of the *moong* and surrounded by thirteen crossed sticks. Lamas then sit around this paper holding in their joined hands a *phoorbu*—a sort of sacred dagger, which has three heads on the handle and a piece of black cloth tied round the middle. They summon the devil in a sing-song voice with partly closed eyes: the devil comes in the form of an insect on to the paper when it is killed with the *phoorbu*. When the insect is killed it and the paper are put into a rat's skull,

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round which twelve *sutsong*—pieces of wood pointed at both ends and with a notch in the middle—one end being red and the other black—are tied, and the whole is buried where two roads meet, being well rammed down and a stone set on top of it.

Then from the first diagram, consulting the sacred book he learned the following additional facts. The patient will dream of a red ox.[3]

[3] This dream is automatic; if the patient says she has had no such dream it will be because she doesn't remember it; it is in the book.

People in her house mustn't buy blue cloth, or goats or oxen, and must not sit near a big tree. She must not eat the flesh of a red ox or of carrion. If she will survive to the month of Chupu, i.e. November—she will recover. She is troubled by the Hlamen Djémé *rum*, and he has already taken her soul inside his[3] walls. It is necessary to perform the ceremony of Deut Shagu Kyok.[4]

[3] This is a supernatural equivalent to the Mun *rum*, half-way between gods and demons, of an ambivalent nature, a god when pleased a devil when angry. Between here and heaven it has a gaol where it keeps the souls of men captive until bribed by offerings to let them go.

[4] For this ceremony a small image of the invalid made out of buckwheat powder is required. On the board are also *yé*, leaf cups with grain in, arrows and spindles; gold and silver is scraped over it. *Chimi* are lit, books read, the patient *pék* with *chongbu zipkī* and the offering removed far away.

The illness has been caused through considerable enmity and jealousy.[5]

[5] Karo *moong* is released automatically through evil thoughts, if you are annoyed with a person because his animals have strayed into your field or because you think he has done you harm, or even because you envy his possessions. The pestering by Karo *moong* is not the result of malice, and though through divination you try to find out who has released it no sort of revenge is taken. To cure its symptoms lamas will burn incense and a Mun will offer an ox and *pék* the patient. If, after having thought evilly of a person you repent and wish to withdraw Karo *moong* you light a number of *chimi* and perform the ceremony of Kongzo Klon; chanting and beating drums either in the dark or at your house (must be done by a lama). Karo *moong* doesn't kill.

If the patient herself doesn't die somebody else is liable to. The smell of high meat is insufferable to her. She is very restless. Chimbu Klon and Dumbu Soong must be done at once.[6]

[6] Chimbu Klon—to give a feast without getting any contributions from the guests. The feast must include meat.

Gyapchi klon (this is the same as Dumbu Soong). Five images are made (*a*) Sher *moong*, white, (*b*) Lho *moong*, yellow, (*c*) Deut *moong*, red, (*d*) Chyong *moong*, indigo, (*e*) Mamoo Takloong, black, represented as a woman sitting with spread legs and open vulva. Round these are arranged in circles 100 *chaté* for (*a*) 100 heaps of rice for (*b*), 100 *chimi* for (*c*), 100 *nakkus*—i.e. pieces of dough stamped with the figures of a man and a woman—for (*d*), and 100 *chongbu zipkī* for (*e*). There must also be 100 *tsatsok*—earth copies of *chotens*. The lama officiating at this ceremony must be given five rupees.

If the invalid had not become ill she would have been very prosperous,

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CHANO CONSULTS TAFOOR ABOUT HIS WIFE'S ILLNESS

Above: Tafoor casts a horoscope in the monastery porch.

Below: The devils to be exorcised. Deut *moong*, Mamoo *moong*, Lho *moong*. They are about 25 cms. high, made out of coloured buckwheat powder on stands of banana stem.

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787 755 with lots of food and clothes and animals. As it is she is very bad; her soul has already one leg outside the body. It is the evil thoughts of others who have caused her malady. The Deut Shagu Kyok ceremony must be done at once.

Her husband Chano was born in Oon *nam* (Sheep year), and their years are antagonistic. They are liable to be troubled by Chemen *moong*, Loo Desen *moong*, Muzong Rum Loo, Sabdong *moong*.

The patient will dream of an old and decrepit house, and of a stream. She will vomit. She must not wear a black hat or put on black paint or buy anything black. For a year she should not take food from a relation except those living in the house.[7]

[7] The *moong* possessing her will be hungry and will try to get food. So that when it sees people giving the patient food it will attach itself to them in the hopes of getting more. This holds good for a year. It does not apply to people living in the same house.

A lama must read the following books: Tinchu Bekeu, Numjeu Cheré, Pungoor Luboong, Chétop Chachu. He must also make the following *deu*—Chemen Gédo, Lumoo Gédo—and set them up on a path. Chano must also get the ceremony Loo-fat performed by a Nandjému, and the ceremonies Goonchen and Séné Kyop by lamas. The wife must change her name.[8]

[8] This refers to the name she is usually known by, not her book-name. The new name can be given by anyone, and after that the old name must not be used. If the old name was meaningful, there is no tabu on the name in other contexts. The old name can be resumed after a year.

The rat skull (see 1) must be carried far by her nephew and buried deeply. A *Mazeu tsop* (image of the invalid) (4) must be made. There will be many quarrels in the house if the fine-seeming mischief-making advice and scandal of others is listened to and then Gébu Tabrong Pano[9] will be angry, and will

[9] Quarrels affect this deity as if they were a burning chilli (i.e. irritating smoke).

send all sorts of aches and pains, starting with toothache, as a punishment, and they will continue for some time. The Tyouma Rumso[10] ceremony

[10] This consists of dancing round a cloth and knife-scabbard with a knife in the hand, and also burning *lapsong*—that is incense with crops, *chi* and butter, and scraping gold, silver, brass, copper, iron, turquoise, coral, and conch-shell over the incense. It is the same as Da-floh.

must be performed and also Kongso Klon (chasing devils).

Baby. The baby will be seriously ill. A small image must be made of it and the invalid's hat and coat put with it and it must be taken far away. When taken out of the house the head must not face towards the sunset as trouble will come from there. It should be taken out facing Chyom (south). It is necessary for the ceremonies to be done very carefully as the mother's soul has already got one foot outside the body.

For the baby's health the father should not go anywhere where there has been quarrelling or where corpses have been burned, or where there are people of low degree like blacksmiths and musicians. The baby is troubled by

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Maknyam *moong*[11] and will get pains as though the body were pierced, and pains in the heart and left shoulder, and shortness of breath. The parents should not buy red or white cloth, or bows and arrows, or any sort of animal from other people, or eat the flesh of carrion or drink rock or rain water. Should it survive till the fifth day of Choobu the crisis will be then. Care should be taken not to let it play with knives and other dangerous instruments. The following sacred books should be read: Numchya Chu, Tukzung Chosung, Nangsa Nanget, Dorjé Chu, etc. The Dafloh dance should be performed, incense burned, and holy *tyü* water sprinkled. The Tsatsoh Kyop (stamped *chotsen*) ceremony should be performed, and also Tsinmu Faat. The child should wear a yellow cloth. Some iron, the head of a chicken and the head of a monkey (? skulls) should be made into a bundle and put on the *kingkoor* (house altar).

For some time there will be many quarrels and general bad temper. (*Aside*: perhaps the baby has been shaken up inside.) All its life long the child will be in danger of death, and that is equally true of its mother. (I think this means that both are threatened by hostile supernaturals, and constant care is needed to ward them off.) Hlamen Djémé (this is the ambivalent supernatural, the god of the Mun, god or demon according as to whether it is pleased or angry) will plague the patient much. The Deut *moong* which is in the house plagues it as severely as if it were the child's mother. The Deut Shagu Kyop (4) ceremony must be performed at once.

The gods and devils are quarrelling over the child's body; should the devils win the child will die. Therefore the ceremonies must be done very properly. The child must avoid water out of rocks or from puddles. Had it not been ill everything it set hand to—trade, crops, animals—would prosper; it would have a life covered with flowers. But (figuratively speaking) a prayer-flag is tottering and must be set upright. Some covetousness (perhaps from a childless woman) has caused the trouble. The child is always in a hurry, inattentive to its parents. Its soul has been taken by Gongbu[12] and Mamoo Deut Tsen[13]

[11] This is the devil which causes death. It acts rather like a vampire; those people whom it kills become in turn Maknyam *moong*. Consequently it is in a way the evil ghost of one's ancestors—since they died by Maknyam *moong* and became it in their turn. At one time it used to be visible; but the *sanyoul koong* (tree) which grew in the mountains was cut down and barred its way; now the devil's body can no longer come out, merely its soul.

Maknyam *moong* runs in every family, but some families also suffer from Arot maknyam *moong*—the devil which causes violent deaths. Such a family is that of Kaji's (late) first wife. One of her brothers recently fell from a tree; a pregnant woman in the family was crushed by a falling tree.

[12] This devil causes swelled stomach. To cure get an ox's horn and fill with rice seed; the lama will hold this and pray silently, and then *pük* the patient and give him some seeds. Butter, meat and *taki* must be mixed and set fire to, and taken outside.

[13] This is a trinity of supernaturals, consisting of the female Mamoo who is indigo, Deut *moong* who is white and Tsen *moong* who is red.

will give trouble. Maknyam *moong* (11) is in the house, and also a devil Badé which was sent in the time of the father or grandfather. Now the gods are angry and Daphlo should be performed. The child is constantly dreaming of human

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corpses ; it either has, or will, excreted and brought up blood. It has no appetite. First the gods were angry, now the *moong* are. The ceremony Yongkeuk Gedo Klon [14] must be performed and Sunen (same as Tamsi, 1) and the taking

[14] This is a ceremony for the material prosperity of the worshipper. A milking pot surrounded with a rope is set up, and on the left side is put a cup of strained *chi*, with four *salyus*, dabs of butter. Lamas read their books and there is a constantly recurring phrase ' Yago Chakook Sho ' ; whenever that recurs the bystanders shout ' Ya '.

away of the image of the child *ing kup lout ryuk* (4). Also a red *yau* Tsendeu Gedo must be made. When the image is taken away the head must not face towards the hills ; trouble comes from there. The child's chief trouble will be cough.

N.B. When the Dafloh is danced in laymen's houses a Mun will kill an ox at the same time.

. . . . . .

Although Chano is a lama he can perform none of these ceremonies for himself, and must pay for consultations, etc., as much as a layman would. Tafoor says he has to give his heart to the work—because all the supernaturals are hidden in a huge house—but he finds everything from the books. If he relied on inspiration he might make mistakes. It is very similar to systematic astrology or card-reading, the varying permutations of years and signs being practically inexhaustible.

. . . . . .

(*e*) Performance of Indicated Ceremonies

On May 9th the ceremonies indicated by Tafoor's exorcism were performed. The various lamaist ceremonials were telescoped into one—*Gyapchi klon*—by the addition of such other items as were indicated for the expulsion of the other devils, without introducing contradictory elements. Thus, using the notes in the previous horoscope (1) was not performed as Tamsi *moong* was not the chief operative devil ; (4) was super-imposed on (6) *gyapchi klon* ; (10) the Tyou-ma rum-so or Dafloh dance was performed at the end of the ceremony ; and Yong keuk gédo klon, a minor ceremony, was postponed. The most important thing was that Hlamen Djémé *rum* had been recognised by Gongyop as being in fact the Mun spirit ; and therefore Mrs. Chano was to be dedicated to the Mun god and to receive instruction from Gongyop as her teacher. Consequently there were as usual a simultaneous Mun and lamaist ceremony ; the Mun ceremony conducted by Gongyop is called ABOONG AK (opening the mouth) or RUM KEUK (acknowledging the god) ; the lamaist ceremony conducted by Tafoor can be conveniently referred to as GYAPCHI KLON.

Preparatory to *gyapchi klon* Chano had prepared a large quantity of ground millet powder and ground buckwheat powder, and the trunk of a banana tree was cut up into segments to serve as stands for the images to be made. Sifted earth was also collected, as well as a hundred leaves ; in the morning rice was cooked.

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000 "The Congress, which has refused office in six provinces where the party is in a position to form Ministries, observed a *hartal* to mark the inauguration of autonomy in the provinces.

"The *hartal* was observed in Calcutta by the closing of Hindu shops. A small minority of Moslem-owned shops were also closed.

"Public services continued as usual, but schools and offices under the control of the Calcutta Corporation were closed. No disturbances have been reported."

* * * * *

782 At almost the very moment when the Governor of Bengal
787 was administering the oath to his newly-appointed Ministers,
789 an old Lepcha woman was squatting on the ground in a remote valley in Sikkim, with an egg pressed against her forehead. This was the day of the *Cherim* ceremony, which is observed all over Sikkim twice in every year: once now, and again at the beginning of the winter. Its purpose is to find out what sickness is likely to trouble the village during the next few months and, since the Lepchas like to get as much benefit as possible out of any one celebration, also to keep
[887] away hail. Kahlyeu, a gentle old man of nearly eighty, had previously made a rough altar of the branches of trees. It
[133] faced up the valley in full sight of Kinchinjunga, the summit
[48] of which is only twenty miles away as the crow flies, but for poor toiling man a journey of many painful days along the
[137] roughest of paths, and through thick rhododendron forest, to
787 the lower slopes alone. On his roughly constructed altar
789 Kahlyeu now put a large brass tray in which were seven
778 cones of butter, four eggs (some said it should have been
782 three), one rupee, three small butter-lamps and a Tibetan
[295 ceremonial scarf. The tray was placed on top of a plaited
415] bamboo winnowing-tray, on which was spread a piece of red cotton cloth. All this was an offering to the spirits who dwell
[776] in the mountain, which the local people know only as Konchen. Before the eggs were placed in position Pom-ri, the old woman who was making the offering, placed each in

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The *Cherim* ceremony. The *Mun* Pom-Ri divining by means of an egg.

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The rough altar, with the offering to Kinchinjunga in position.

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Kahlyeu and the *Mun* imploring the spirits to accept the offering.

[facing p. 4]

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782 787 789 778 turn to her forehead and said a short prayer. She told us afterwards that by this means she could ascertain what devils of sickness were likely to trouble the village (on this occasion it was coughs and cold); and by offering them the grain and other things ensure that their visitations should at least cause no permanent harm.

787 789 782 As soon as the eggs were placed in position on the tray a bowl of burning juniper twigs was placed on the ground, just to the right of the altar. This was to drive the clouds away from the top of the mountain in order that the spirits might see what was being offered them. Pom-ri now started to chant in a cracked and mumbling voice. In her right hand [415] she held a small drinking bowl, round the rim of which butter had been smeared. A woman helper ladled strained spirit into the bowl from time to time from a large vessel which stood on the ground beside her; and on the other side of Pom-ri stood Kahlyeu, his cap, filled with grain, in one hand. From time to time Pom-ri threw the contents of her bowl towards the mountain, when it was at once refilled by her assistant; and as she did this the old man threw out a handful of grain from his cap. He, too, chanted, and at times the pair seemed to be moaning in unison. But they were both so old, and their voices so cracked and low that it was impossible to catch their words. I did, however, frequently hear the word Konchen at the moment when the libations were being offered. This went on for about twenty minutes, and then the pair turned about and faced down the valley, chanting and making offering as before.

Having propitiated the spirits of Konchen they had now turned their attention to such evils as come from the direction of the plains; on this particular occasion it was hail. In the meantime a goat had been slaughtered in the bushes behind. [231] This was done by thrusting a short pointed bamboo stake into its heart, the usual method of killing small domestic animals. At the place where it was killed a fire was lighted and the carcass lightly singed. After this the meat, including the animal's head, the liver (on a stake), and the

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782 787 789 washed entrails, together with a small bamboo container filled with the goat's blood, was placed on the ground in front of the altar. The old man and woman now chanted as before, after which the meat was taken away and distributed [622] to all present under the supervision of the village Mandal, or head-man. The goat was offered first to Konchen and then to all the other spirits. During the whole of this celebration none of the spectators, of which there must have been fifty or sixty, paid the slightest attention to what was going on. As we later noticed, this was the case on all such occasions: the people merely sat round drinking and talking; but I did hear a child reproved for making too much noise while the actual chanting was in progress.

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491 If one takes the night mail from Calcutta it is easily possible, by motoring from Siliguri, to reach Gangtok, the capital of independent Sikkim, well before lunch on the following morning. The motor road at present ends at Gangtok, but the Talung Valley can be reached the following evening by any moderately active walker. The actual distance is about twenty-five miles; but included in this is a descent of nearly three thousand feet, immediately followed by an ascent of like amount. This drop and subsequent rise is repeated again at the end of the journey, but fortunately on a smaller scale. If really in a hurry it would be possible to reach the Talung in something under thirty-six hours from Calcutta; but having crossed the rickety suspension bridge across the Teesta, the sole means of access to the valley, one steps backward in time, so to speak, into another world. In 18 Calcutta (said to be the second city in the British Empire; but in my opinion an easy first in dirt and squalor) Englishmen, and others, toil all day in a vile climate for the sole purpose of acquiring more wealth than their fellows: but in the Talung Valley, which has meadows as green as any in Europe, and some of the finest mountain scenery in the world, money is considered of little importance, and one man

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individual members of the community. Unlike Tibet, where animal sacrifice is practically unknown, many of these ceremonies, particularly those in connection with illness and other manifestations of devils, require the sacrifice of an ox or goat, and on such occasions the Lama is assisted by a Mun; for although the Lama has no objection to assisting at such a very un-Buddha-like ceremony he draws the line at actually taking life himself. He is a physician more than a priest, for he deals with the ills of the physical body rather than with those of the soul. Sometimes he is unable himself to diagnose the cause of trouble, and on such occasions he may call in a *Nunjimu*, a person who by dancing herself into a trance is able to ascertain the cause of the trouble, but not to cure it, this being the Lama's own province. The Lama does not, I think, claim for himself any supernatural power. He is merely "one who knows," as the Lepcha word *Yukman* implies, as opposed to the "ignorant one," or ordinary layman. The whole of his teaching is based upon cause and effect; and once a cause has been ascertained its treatment is merely the carrying out of a definite specified ceremony. This conception of course is quite in accordance with the best medical tradition; but it is more open to doubt whether Harley Street would approve of such treatment as, for instance, the sacrifice of a bullock, coupled with a thousand repetitions of the mystic formula "*Om mani padme hum*," as a cure for general debility. If a man calls in one Lama rather than another it is not because he has necessarily more faith in his powers, or thinks he has a better bedside manner, but because he knows more ceremonies: X may have studied only as far as the cure of the common cold; but Y may know how to ensure that your wife's next child is a boy. Either of these treatments would doubtless find favour in Europe; but in the meantime I cannot honestly recommend a pilgrimage to Lingtem for the purpose!

A boy does not usually become a Lama because he feels it is his right vocation but because his horoscope, prepared at birth, decrees it. Every child is born with certain signs, from

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the characteristics of which no escape is possible. The "head sign" denotes that a child should become a Lama and when this is found the boy is always sent to a teacher. He may later decide that he does not wish to practise and in this case will cease to study. There is no objection to children without the "head sign" becoming Lamas; but if, for instance, a boy born with the "hand sign" wishes to enter the Church nothing can prevent him from eventually turning into a thief. If a girl is born with the "heart sign" it means she should become a female Lama; and it may be noted in passing that in both sexes the "genital sign" is thought to be a sure indication of future sexual promiscuity. These so-called "signs" are not actually visible on the body; they are merely the attributes attaching to birth at a particular time, and failure to comply with the conditions indicated is thought to result in a shortening of life. I think, however, that Lepchas do not attach much importance to them, and in actual practice the son of a Lama, whatever his "sign," will nearly always study for at least a few years.

It is said that when a child reaches the age of three or four it will try on its own to study. I personally never saw any such infant prodigies; and such small boys in Lingtem as were destined for the Church seemed much more interested in catapulting birds or playing around in the fields. The only difference between them and other children was in the yellow sash worn round their waists, the distinguishing mark, apart from close-cropped hair, of Lepcha Lamas, who in Lingtem do not ordinarily wear monastic robes but dress as laymen. When the novice is about eight or nine his parents select some experienced Lama as his teacher, and to him they send the boy with a present. This usually takes the form of a pig's carcass and a few rupees. A father never teaches his own son, except incidentally, but the teacher will nearly always be some man of the boy's own village. The novice generally lives with his teacher and receives instruction only at night, since both must spend the daylight hours working in the fields. Sometimes a boy will run away from his

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173 three whole nights. Higher up the valley there is a place
683 called Shuk, the home of many Mungs. From this place the mother called up the demon whose name was Sor; and told him in future to trouble all people. This was the revenge she took for the death of her only two sons.

787 If a person dreams that he sees a kite flying through the sky it is a clear indication that trouble is coming from Sor Mung. Karma says that the night before last his mother-in-law dreamt that she saw such a bird, which came and perched on the roof of the house. It was, therefore, not surprising that yesterday she complained of pains in her heart.

159 Karma is obsessed with poison, and would nearly always, sooner or later, bring the subject into the conversation. He has been Karbari for nearly three years and will soon hand over to another. His earliest memories are of having to do hard work. When he was about three years old his father's brother was being married. He remembers his mother being
[252] seated near the fire, preparing parched rice, and his father sitting a little way off, drying it. At that time Karma's father was unwell and could not attend the wedding; but he told his wife to go, and particularly asked her to bring him back a piece of liver, for which he had a fancy. On the evening of the wedding his mother went to the house where it was being held and remained there for some time, drinking and taking part in the feast. Karma remained at home. As his father was feeling unwell they had no food that night and went to lie down early. The house was very small and had but one room. Karma lay down on his father's left and his elder brother was on the right. After some time the father started to gasp for breath. Karma wondered what was the matter, and scrambling up, he looked into his father's face and asked him what had happened; but he did not reply. His brother was still sound asleep and so he shook him. He now noticed that his father's eyes were wide open and had a fixed staring expression.

The two boys did not know what to do: all the neighbours had gone down to the wedding, except one old woman who

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159 comfortable home, a compromise was arranged by which
59 Karma went to live with her, working in Gongyop's fields in order to earn the bride price. Soon after this he became very ill. At the time the family was living in temporary huts in the fields. It was a busy time of the year, and this did away with the long walk to and from the house. His wife was working
159 in the fields with her son by a previous husband, and Karma lay on his back in the hut watching them. Suddenly he felt queer; he thought he saw many people coming towards him, and he could hardly breathe. He called to his wife, but she took no notice and still went on with her work. Shortly after this he thought he saw the Hlaribu coming into the hut. He asked him where he was going. He said he had heard that Karma had recently bought a turquoise earring from Jiroong and asked if he might see it. This was true, and the earring was hanging on the wall above his head at the time.
[301 Karma told the Hlaribu that he had paid four rupees for it,
435] which the latter said was a reasonable price. All this time he was pouring with sweat. He saw many people peering at him from outside the house; some of them had huge goitres and each looked as though he was perched on the back of the person behind. He heard them laughing and talking and distinctly remembers one man saying: "Look at Karma! he has turned from a needle into a bodkin!" Karma again called out to his wife. He felt that the roof of the house was gradually contracting and coming slowly down, as though to crush him. He made no attempt to get to the door, and while he was doing this his wife and her son came into the house. They thought that he was dead, as he was lying stretched out on the floor and was motionless. His wife ran off to call a friend, who came at once and lighted incense. Later on some men came and carried him up to Gongyop's house, where he eventually recovered. The only other serious illness he has ever had was when he was ten years old, and this lasted for more than three months. His mother, who was a Mun, divined
● [787] the cause of the trouble and saw that he could only recover by becoming a Padim, a sort of Mun with limited powers.

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but later on a Mun appeared to him in a dream and told him what to do. Nowadays he always dreams before a ceremony, and thus learns what action he has to take. During the course of these dreams he speaks with Kings of Sikkim, Europeans, and all sorts of other people. Actually it is a demon who is speaking to him, but it has chosen to adopt this form.

Before becoming a Mun Gongyop was ill for nearly three years, and during all this time lay almost like dead, the symptoms being the same as with his previous illness. He was visited by both Mun and Lamas; and both divined that he was being troubled by the Mun's own private god; and that the only way he could recover was to make this god his own. Part of the ceremony was done by a Lama; but the most important part, known as *Rum-Keuk*, was done by a female Mun. An ox was slaughtered and part of its flesh, together with grain and butter, was offered to the gods by the Mun. She was offered five rupees in payment for her services; but refused to accept any money until Gongyop had completed his studies: she took only the head and two legs of the ox, together with its vital organs. These had formed the actual ceremonial offering. Gongyop did not understand the words she used during the ceremony as she spoke in a special esoteric language; but in any case he was so ill at the time that he could not even drag himself outside the house for the purposes of nature: he was unable to see properly; nor could he hear. He remained by her side during the ceremony and from time to time she waved things over him. Before the actual physical signs of his illness developed he became as one mad. He would wander aimlessly about without knowing where he was going: sometimes he went to other people's houses, and sometimes he would roam in the forest. He never knew what he was doing; nor did he afterwards remember where he had been. Sometimes he had the feeling that he could walk very fast, as though he was being transported on air. He believes that in this way he

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three days to tell. Gongyop was very anxious that we should write it down; but the flesh was not sufficiently strong! At the end of his third year an ox was sacrificed, and his teacher pronounced him as fit, although he has still a number of things to learn. He cannot, for instance, do the *Sanglion*, a special rite performed at death. He thinks it a curse to be a Mun, and hopes his son will never have to be one. In his opinion a Lama is more powerful than a Mun; but the latter is probably more efficient when it is a question of merely driving demons away.

I asked Gongyop if the Padim god was angry when he became a Mun. "No," he said, "the two gods are husband and wife, and the Padim god was glad because the Mun had come to share houses (i.e. Gongyop's body) with him. The Padim god does not call his wife, but is naturally glad when she arrives." The spirits are not always present in his body. When they come he feels a heavy burden, as though he is carrying an immense weight. These particular gods normally live in a place on the other side of Kinchinjunga, which mountain they have to cross to reach him. At the time of their arrival he feels a weight pressing him down. When they are in possession of his body he is able to prophesy. At such times he does not know what he is saying, nor has he afterwards any recollection. He cannot call the spirits up at will and only prophesies twice a year: once in summer and again in winter. He generally feels ill the evening before, and only becomes normal again from cock-crow on the morning following the "possession." He feels heavy and depressed; also he cannot stand noise. He trembles all the time and sweats profusely. During this time he must pray to the gods to find out what must be done. He has no particular feelings at the time of possession; but at the moment when the spirits actually enter his body everything goes black in front of him, after which he remembers no more. He sits cross-legged on the floor making offerings; by his side is a necklace of flowers and a decorated stick known as *Sagyi-patung*. Suddenly he feels as though he is being poked all over with

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the stick: this is the god arriving to take possession of his body. He is now no longer himself. The god takes up the necklace and puts it on its head. It gets up trembling and goes outside the house, where it walks up and down a few times. It comes in again and sits down in its former place. Everyone keeps very quiet and still; even the children make no noise. It offers *chi* and chants a little. Now it blows on everyone. Very quietly, it begins to speak. Soon, darkness comes over it, and it steals away. The god is gone, having made its prophecy. Gongyop recovers consciousness. Later, the others will tell him what the god has said.

A Mun offers sacrifices to Itpumu, who, as we have already seen, was the creator of all things, even of Lamas. The god cannot be approached direct, but only through the medium of his demon children. It sometimes happens that the twice-yearly ceremony, when prophecies are made, is performed by more than one Mun in each village: but even when this is done it is said that their prophecies do not differ in essentials; and apparently no steps are taken to prevent collusion. We were unfortunate not to witness one of these ceremonies; but from what little I have seen I think it is exceedingly doubtful if a real state of trance is ever induced. One or two people were openly sceptical, and said that the prophecies were made in such a low and indistinct voice that it was possible to interpret them almost as one wished: others, however, were reticent. There seems no doubt, however, that they are always confined to generalisations: "although the village is suffering from coughs and colds at present, there is no immediate danger, and the epidemic will shortly cease." Things such as this were commonly said, but they can hardly be called prophetic; and in the meantime I prefer to keep an open mind until such time as I have collected evidence which would be accepted by a scientist.

Gongyop says that during ordinary ceremonies, when no god has taken possession of his body, he sometimes sees phantom dogs, pigs, or monkeys coming into the room. If he looks carefully they disappear at once; but the moment he

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concentrates on the service they appear again immediately. If one of these animals comes right into the room and is seen to be eating something it is a sure sign that the sick person will die. He does not tell the patient what he has seen, but merely contents himself with saying that the illness is serious and that the ceremony may not be completely successful. If he sees a pig it means that Lum Dong Mung is the cause of the trouble: if a red butterfly, then it is Arot Mung to whom offerings must be made. This last is the demon which causes people to commit suicide, and requires careful handling. Sometimes he will appear to see a dirty and aged woman enter the room: this is Sor Mung, which causes coughs and colds.

It is generally believed that Lepchas know a great deal about the medicinal value of plants. In the days when they were dependent upon forest produce this was probably true, but it certainly does not apply at the present day. One would have expected knowledge of this kind to be handed down from generation to generation, and to find it part of the stock-in-trade of the Mun. His cures, however, are obtained entirely by means of sacrifices. He gives no medicine, nor does he prescribe the wearing of charms and amulets, the making of these being the province of the Lamas.

For ordinary divinations a Mun uses either a necklace or an egg. The egg is placed against the forehead, and the eyes are closed. Gongyop says that when he does this it helps him to concentrate. At one ceremony at which we were present he said that by means of the egg he could see a long straight road, continuing into the distance. This meant illness in the near future; but nothing very serious. On another occasion he saw a circular road: this meant serious illness. And once, when he saw a circular road which was arranged in the form of a knot, several people died of dysentery shortly after.

We noticed that he was wearing a rosary twined around his wrist. We asked him what it was for, but at first he seemed very embarrassed, and would say nothing about it. Later on,

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he said that while there was no particular harm in other people catching sight of his beads he must never discuss them, except with other Padim or Mun. If he did the god would be angry and refuse in future to help him: moreover, he was in the habit of using this particular rosary to determine the outcome of his love affairs. If he talked about it there was a chance that it might play him false! And so he begged to be excused. As he said this he tucked it away, well out of sight.

It is believed that when a Mun dies his soul returns to its celestial home, where it changes into the god Hit, the guardian of which is Pong Rum, the patron of all hunters. The body is always buried and not treated in any special way. Even the soul like that of ordinary people needs direction after death, or it will not know which road to take. A Mun must be careful never to touch a corpse. If he did so his god would leave him for the time being, and he would be ill for at least two months. There is no harm in his looking upon a dead body; nor will anything ensue if he touches the bodies of dead animals. Should he happen by mistake to touch a corpse he must get a Lama to cleanse his body with consecrated water, at the same time burning incense in the room while this is being done. After this he will regain his powers; but nothing, it may be noted, can cause the god permanently to desert the Mun.

In cases of illness in Lingtem a Lama is always called in first. He decides what treatment is necessary and then arranges accordingly. As a matter of fact, I cannot remember attending any ceremony, apart, of course, from purely religious festivals, at which a Lama and Mun were not both officiating; a regular Harley Street conspiracy!

In addition to Lamas and Muns, Lepchas also have recourse to people known as Nunjimu. This word does not appear in the dictionary: but the verb *Nun* (from which the word is presumably derived), which is Tibetan, is given as meaning "to be insensible, or cataleptic." These people are not nowadays often employed, and in Lingtem there was only one. According to Gongyop the original Nunjimus

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and have found no reference to it in any of the books on that country. In view of the fact that the word is pure Tibetan, one would have expected to find it mentioned. Anyone witnessing the ceremony must have been struck by the peculiarities of the figure itself: but there has been no modern account of Tibetan social life, and it is possible that if any of the earlier travellers saw a Go-sum he may have considered it too shocking to describe! The ceremony is no longer carried out by Lepchas in the Kalimpong district, where missionary influence is strong, but is popular all over Sikkim, where it is held in great esteem by Lepchas and Tibetans alike.

Here is an example of treatment of a different kind. Chano's wife had been unwell for several weeks, but was suffering from no specific illness. Her husband, however, who was himself a Lama, thought there might be something wrong and asked Tafoor to work out a horoscope for the next few months. He did this in our presence; but in order to make it intelligible it is necessary to understand something of the chronological system current in Tibet, as it is used for indicating lucky and unlucky times as well as the times for much of the worship. Except in official correspondence with the outside world it is in use all over Sikkim.

"The Tibetan system of reckoning time, derived from China and India, is based upon the twelve-year and sixty-year cycles of Jupiter. The twelve-year cycle is used for short periods, and the particular year, as in the Chinese style, bears the name of one or other of the twelve cyclic animals:—

1 Mouse (Rat)	1912*	5 Dragon	1916	9 Monkey	1920
2 Ox	1913	6 Serpent	1917	10 Bird (Hen)	1921
3 Tiger	1914	7 Horse	1918	11 Dog	1922
4 Hare (Kite)	1915	8 Sheep	1919	12 Pig	1923, 1935 and so on.

* The names of animals in brackets are Lepcha variants of the standard Tibetan years. The date opposite each is given as an example of one particular cycle.

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796 The whole offering was again sprinkled with holy water, and Gongyop continued his incantations.

He told the gods and demons that the *Rum* was now being given them; they must be satisfied and go away without [781] troubling the people. None of the spectators, of whom about forty were present, displayed any interest in the proceedings; but one old man came and sat by Gongyop for a time and seemed to be chanting with him word for word. Gongyop ●[787] later told me that when he held the eggs to his forehead he thought he saw what looked like a fairly straight road. This meant illness, but nothing very serious: probably a mild epidemic of stomach-ache would follow.

While Gongyop was carrying out his part of the ceremony a long pole, supported on several uprights, had been erected alongside the *Rum*. This is called *Tumsheung-Pating*. From the cross-piece several dozen miniature packets were suspended: most contained various kinds of grain; but there [824 were also some heads of barley, sticks of majito (a root used 386] for dyeing), bits of wool and cotton; small bits of everything, in fact, that people use in their daily life. Most of these offerings, which had been contributed by the whole of the village, were tied into little banana-leaf packets; others were in miniature plaited baskets. This was said to be a general offering to the demons; but there was no ceremony in connection with it. An identical *Tumsheung-Pating* was constructed to one side of the other altar. This was for the Lord Konchen, the other being for the devils who rule in the plains.

We have already seen that the main altar was built facing up the valley towards Kinchinjunga. Old Kahlyeu now [415] brought a small brass tray, on which he arranged seven heaps of parched rice (again contributed by all the village), four eggs, one silver rupee, and three small lamps. Later on, three cones of butter were placed on top of the rice. There was some doubt as to the correct number of eggs required: [801] some said three, others five; but old Pom-Ri, the Mun who was now to officiate, was sure that four was right. The whole

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it was almost the only occasion in Lingtem when I saw anything approaching a display of emotion. But even now it was not marked.

An effort was now made to rouse the more moribund of the spectators, and the Mandal formed them into the semblance of a procession. The stretcher was taken down from the altar and several men started to move off down the path, carrying the thing high on their shoulders. It looked as though the *Deu* would fall, whereupon the Mandal rushed out and removed it. It was then carried separately by a boy who walked in front, the whole procession being preceded by the monastery band. The procession moved a few yards away and then came to a standstill. Chötembu's tipsy wife tottered out from the ranks and started to sing and dance. Palden said that the song was in honour of the gods and implored them to go satisfied away; but the old lady was almost incoherent and distinctly unsteady about the feet. After a while the procession again started forwards, urged on by a man beating a solid disc of brass, which sounded like a station bell.

It was now six o'clock and almost dark. The *Gedo* should by rights have been taken to the top of a hill and there abandoned; but owing to the lateness of the hour a dispensation was obtained and it was taken only as far as the nearest stream. Provided the offering was taken across water at once it could be placed in its final position to-morrow. After it has been finally abandoned the *Gedo* is examined daily for the next three days. Should it be eaten by domestic or other animals in the meantime all is well: otherwise it is a sign that the gods have not accepted the offering and the ceremony is of no avail. The other offerings, those made by the Muns, were abandoned on their altars, and remained in position until destroyed by wind and rain.

About forty people in all attended, a much smaller number than generally gathered for services at the monastery. I was told that this was on account of there being no reading of the sacred books, for which people always make an effort to be

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341 was ever necessary for purposes of defence; but in a country as dry and cold as Tibet, where internal heating is still unknown, they serve the purpose of keeping the occupants of houses warm. This feature, although quite unnecessary in the warmer climate of Sikkim, has been retained in most of the public buildings, but in private houses has given way to walls of bamboo lath and mud plaster, which give all the protection required.

342 The ordinary Lepcha cottage is generally raised about six feet above ground, and is supported by wooden pillars [417 resting on stones. It is entered by means of a ladder, which 231] usually takes the form of a roughly notched bamboo, the space beneath the house being occupied by the cattle.

The building of houses, like every other Lepcha activity, is hedged around with rules and restrictions. Not all of these are always regarded; but to pretend a complete indifference would be to lay oneself open to the machinations of the ubiquitous evil spirits.

When a man wishes to build a new house he first takes a [787] little earth from the proposed site and gives it to a Lama, who will then divine whether the place is suitable or not. This he 342 does, not by means of meditation, or any other form of 779 concentration, but by referring to a book called *Sachet Zai Patar*. There was only one copy in Lingtem and its owner, when reading it out to us, was honest enough to own that although he had studied the book for years he still found some of the instructions quite incomprehensible. Here is the gist of them:

Jampay Yung, Kongshi Gyabo, Hishay Tugyel, and Shinji Tulgay Gyabo once gathered together in Gyakar, which, so the Hlaribu said, is probably Budh Gaya but may be Benares! But in any case, in Gyakar there are seven burning ghats. These four gods consulted together and they came to the conclusion that since men were building houses all over the place, and without any regard to the suitability of the sites, it was incumbent upon them to formulate some instructions.

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852 [554] 562 [824] the birth-god he will entreat it to send a boy next time. He will concentrate on this matter throughout the third night. He takes three tufts of elephant grass tied up with coloured thread, and attaches them to ordinary finger-rings. He then waves this bunch of grass slowly over the parents of the newly-born child, and afterwards over all present.

852 562 773 Now in Azoom Aru Purtam, a place through which all babies must pass before being born, there is a waterfall called *Lung Fing* and a well called *Rungzel Oonglop*. The waterfall is a boy and the well is a girl. When he concentrates on the matter the Mun is able to visit this place in spirit, when he persuades the god to make the waterfall and the well change places.

The coloured threads with which the elephant grass is tied are offered to the spirit of the waterfall, after which the grass is put in a pot of water and kept on the household altar. A chicken is now offered to Nazong Nyu, the progenitor of the human race, after which the two rings are given to the child's mother to wear. The performance of this ceremony, for which there does not appear to be any specific name, will assure that the next child born is a boy.

852 [787] 553 If a Lama is present on the third day he will work out the child's horoscope and give it a name; otherwise the child's father will go to his house. It may be noted, however, that the names given by Lamas are never used and in many cases are forgotten. Someone present will usually give the child a nickname, which will be selected in accordance with its appearance. Common names of this sort are "the fair one"; "the dark one," and so on; but the most extraordinary one I ever came across was *Kalok Tikung*, which being translated comes to mean "The rat's grandfather." Children are 551 generally called by these nicknames; but otherwise the custom of teknonymy is usual. An adult may occasionally be called by his name, but it is not considered polite to do so; and in no circumstances may a Lama's real name be mentioned. There does not appear to be any objection to

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853 mother must take care not to go out in the sun, nor should
757 she sit down in any damp place. She should also give up eating salt and meat for the time being and it is better if she takes no *chi*. A diet consisting solely of rice and butter is considered the best at such a time.

856 There is nothing a mother can do to help her baby over the teething period, but it is considered better at such a time not to feed the child on frogs' or bears' flesh, or it will not talk until very late. The teeth should start to appear when the child is eight months old and should be complete by the end of the twelfth month; but if the child is seen by a pregnant woman its teeth will not appear until after that woman's child is born. For this reason pregnant women always take care not to look at other people's babies. The
[777 lower teeth of a boy should appear before the upper or the
842] child's luck will not be good: moreover, if the first child is a boy and its upper teeth appear first it means that the next child will be a girl. With girls the reverse applies; and in
[787] cases where their upper teeth do not appear first it means that in later life they will have trouble with domestic animals, and are likely to lose their husbands soon after marriage. Nothing can be done in cases of this sort, and parents generally conceal the fact that their children's teeth have appeared in the wrong order. It is a bad sign if a child of either sex has pointed milk-teeth in the lower jaw: this is a sure sign that the child will be naughty and disobedient.

856 A child is thought to become either "naughty" or "good"
577 at about the age of five or six; but its character is not finally
865 formed until about fifteen, or, in the case of a girl, not until
157 she gives birth to her first child. A "naughty" child is one who is unfriendly, who hits people, quarrels with its friends and throws stones at them; but the worst characteristic of "bad" children is that they will not co-operate with others. The domineering and strong-willed child with a mind of its own, which is looked upon with favour in our culture, would be quite out of place in Lepcha society, and would be definitely branded as "naughty." This is an excellent

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again the next day. If he is still unable to move them he returns a third time; and if he cannot persuade them on this last occasion the matter is finally dropped, and the presents returned to the boy's *Pi-bo;* but this does not often happen.

If the girl's parents agree to the marriage they send for a Lama and ask him to work out the auspicious date for the *Ashyek*, or formal betrothal, to take place, after which the girl's go-between informs the boy, through his *Pi-bo*, that he should come on such-and-such a day. On the appointed day the boy, accompanied by his *Pi-bo*, sets out for the girl's home. They take with them one large copper pot (or twenty rupees in cash), sufficient cloth to make a dress for the girl's mother (or thirteen rupees in cash), and a *Gyachung* of three rupees. It appears that the *Gyachung* was originally a piece of cloth specially woven by the women of the boy's household; but since these are no longer made in Jongu the three rupees are given instead. To the above are added two pigs' carcases; but poorer people give only one.

All these presents are taken direct to the girl's home. When the party arrives the girl's parents ask why they have come. There is an exchange of compliments, followed by general conversation, after which the girl's parents usually say that while they are really unwilling for their daughter to marry perhaps it would be as well, after all, to let the matter go forward. They then present the boy's *Pi-bo* with one dead fowl, one rupee and a ceremonial scarf: all these he keeps for himself. This completes the betrothal, and the boy then returns to his own home.

One week later the boy goes alone to the girl's home, taking with him a present of one bullock's leg, which he presents to his future parents-in-law. He stays in the house for ten days and during this time he is expected to have sexual intercourse with his future bride; and the girl's father watches carefully to see that he does so. So important is this considered that the girl's father will, if necessary, beat the boy in order to make him co-operate. This, however, is only necessary with very young boys who have had no previous

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587 in Lingtem, is being married to-day. His first wife died a year ago, and he is now marrying a childless widow of twenty-four. It seems that in the eyes of the village he has 177 struck lucky; for in normal circumstances it is not considered auspicious for a girl to marry a widower. In this particular case, however, the girl's deceased husband had no brothers; nor was anyone else entitled to inherit her, so the present arrangement suits both parties. The only fly in to-day's 178 ointment is that the birth-signs of the bride and bridegroom are antagonistic; so much so, in fact, that many people think the marriage foredoomed to failure. Ongden, however, is quite well-off, and in any case, being himself a Lama, can probably obtain special terms from the faculty for the services which will restore the balance of ill-luck. But in view of the special circumstances both he and his bride think the risk worth taking.

587 We were summoned to the house at nine-thirty, but noth-
273 ing much was happening when we arrived. We went first to the kitchen, where some thirty or forty people were sitting quietly soaking, after which we were shown into the altar-room, where the actual ceremony will take place. Six Lamas were sitting against the wall: they too were drinking. The second Dorje-Lopön appeared to be in charge, and the others all had 534 instruments, the usual six-foot trumpets, clarionets and drums.

778 On the altar were a number of *tormas* of rice, decorated
587 with dabs of coloured butter. Into these were stuck several rather crudely coloured pictures of gods, the centre one of which was said to represent Guru Rimpoche. Behind these one of the usual Tibetan pictures had been hung; but it was so old and tattered as to make its details unrecognisable. There was also a small brass vessel filled with holy water, into the neck of which a peacock's feather had been stuck; also a beer bottle, said to contain spirits. I also noticed a number of small bowls filled with rice and other grains, and several oranges and a heap of walnuts. In front of all was a row of 373 small lamps, the last of which was only lighted when the bride arrived.

4:Nebesky-Wojkowitz E-5 (1950-1951) 1952
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764 On top of each grave a small hillock was made, with a tombstone (*cók bum*) in the middle; the grave thus marked was called *cók de*. The inside of the pit was carefully laid out with stones, so that the earth would not touch the corpse. The reason, why the dead were always turned towards Mt. Kanchenjunga was that they "should see the mountain, from which the Lepchas originated."

According to the custom of various localities, people were either buried in single graves, which were made in the fields, the jungle or—more frequently—close to a river, or on cemeteries, called *cók bróng lyang* or *cók bram lyang*. While the single graves were mostly destroyed in the course of time, the site of the ancient cemeteries is still [766] often remembered.—Children below the age of ten were buried without the full ceremonial. Women, who died together with their child in childbirth, were buried jointly in one tomb.

When the funeral procession reached the freshly dug grave, the corpse was lowered into the pit and then, according to local custom, various things were laid near the dead. Besides the half seer of rice and the coin for *Fă gróng thing*, a bow and arrow were placed at the side of a man, or sometimes his knife (*ban*), the indispensable instrument of every Lepcha man. To a girl, her comb, and to a woman her sickle were given. Then a rope made of bamboo tissue and consisting of two parts, linked together with a loose sling, was lowered by a *Bong thing, Mŭn*, or a close relative into the grave. Shortly before the pit was closed, the person who held the rope called the deceased by his name, telling him that his "life spirit" is now being removed and that he should keep away from the living and not try to harm them; then he pulled hard on the rope, so that the sling opened and the lower half of the rope fell into the pit.

In order to close the grave, at first some stones were arranged in a kind of roof also above the basket, so that the corpse was surrounded now from all sides by a stone wall. Then earth was pilled up, to form a small hillock and above the head of the dead, the tombstone was set. When heaping up this hillock, great care was taken to make its surface as smooth as possible, because three days after the funeral the relatives had to return to the grave, to see whether there were any traces on the • [787] hillock. If imprints of human feet were seen, it was regarded as a sign that the spirit of the dead had walked around the grave, but if traces of any animal were found, it was believed that they were left by the demon, who had caused the man's illness and death.—Then a grass whisk was taken and a magic circle was drawn with it around the tomb, to prevent any other soul from entering it. In some localities, if a man was buried, a "wild boars nest" —a small shelter in form of a nest, as made

4:Nebesky-Wojkowitz E-5 (1950-1951) 1952
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loose sling to the little finger of the *Mŭn's* left hand. In her right hand she took a knife, as weapon against evil spirits.

After these preparations had been finished, the *Mŭn* works herself gradually into a slight trance, and with a high, loud voice she begins her incantations. She calls upon the *Mŭk nyam* to recognize, that he belongs from now on to the world of the dead, and that he should not hide in trees, stones, rivers, lakes or fire, but he should join the soul of the *Mŭn* for a tour of the Lepcha land. The *Mŭn* sings now for hours a long, rhymed account, the text of which she had learned by heart from her teacher during the time of initiation. She describes to the spirit the beauty of Sikkim, its snow mountains, valleys, rivers and lakes, the forests, fields and lonely dwellings of men. At last, the *Mŭn* guides the spirit down the Teesta River and describing the source of this greatest river of Sikkim, she conducts the *Mŭk nyam* across the Indian plains, "to show it the ocean". But she admonishes the deceased, that he should not gaze too long at the endless sea, as he has to return with her that very night to the Lepcha land. Then again the *Mŭk nyam* is led to the Teesta and following the river upstream, the *Mŭn* guides the spirit back to the house, from which they started the journey.[15]

In the early morning, when the darkness of the night begins to fade into the grey of the approaching day, the ceremony reaches its climax. At this time all the relatives of the deceased, who are present in the house, assemble in front of the *Mŭn*. The dresses, jewellery and other personal belongings of the dead person, as well as numerous dishes with various foods are placed near the *Mŭn*, who finishes now her incantations and falls into a full trance. Her eyes close, the face becomes ash-gray and mask-like. Suddenly, tears begin to flow from her eyes and the whole body begins to tremble. This is supposed to be the moment at which the spirit of the deceased enters the body of the *Mŭn*, and using the sorceress as a medium, the *Mŭk nyam* begins to speak through her mouth. He tells now to his relatives the cause of his death and expresses his last wishes, while members of the family in their turn frequently ask the deceased, whether he left perhaps any business unsettled in his lifetime, where some of his possessions, which could not be found are hidden, etc. Many of the older Lepchas who witnessed several times the recalling of the *Mŭk nyam*, unanimously state that frequently most surprising occurrences take place during this ceremony. It often happens that somebody dies without having disclosed, where he had hidden his money or jewels, and the relatives were searching in vain for these things. If however this question is put to the *Mŭn* in his trance, she usually answers it without hesitation

4:Nebesky-Wojkowitz E-5 (1950-1951)1952
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and then somebody of those present leaves the room immediately to search at the spot now indicated; he mostly returns within a short time with the missing objects.

While the family property is being inherited according to the old Lepcha law, the personal belongings of the dead are distributed among his closer relatives. This is usually carried out by the *Mŭn*, while still possessed by the *Mŭk nyam*. But not always is this way of dividing the heritage regarded as just, and it frequently leads to quarrels.

At the end of this ceremony, a food offering is made to the dead. A cup with some water is handed to the *Mŭn*,—who still remains in the trance —and she sprinkles some of the water on all the food which had been placed in front of her, thus making it "eatable for the deceased". Then all the members of the family step forward one by one and present a dish with food to the spirit and burn also some incense, together with traces of food, and a container filled with Lepcha beer is given to the *Mŭn* to drink. Shortly after this offering the *Mŭk nyam* leaves the body of the *Mŭn*, who soon returns to full consciousness, and then removes the rope from her left hand. Some of the Lepchas claim, that when the *Mŭn* begins to complain of pain—usually in a part of her body, corresponding to those limbs and organs of the deceased, which had been affected by the deadly illness or accident —it has to be regarded as a reliable sign, that the *Mŭk nyam* is about to leave the medium.

After a short interval, the *Mŭn* ties again the rope to her left hand and goes into a light trance, in order to guide the spirit of the dead to the other world. On the way to the *Rŭm lyang*, an obstacle called *Lep*, which is imagined to be like a tremendous waterfall or a deep precipice, has to be crossed by the *Mŭk nyam* with the assistance of the *Mŭn*. Having overcome this barrier, the spirit is met by *The kung tek*,[16] the first *Bong thing*, and his wife *Ne kung ngal*, the first *Mŭn*. They will enumerate to the deceased the line of his ancestors, mentioning on the seventh place the name of the mountain, with which his clan believes itself to be connected,[17] and then they accompany the spirit, to meet *Fă grŏng thing* and *Nă zŏng nyo*, the ancestors of the Lepchas. In the *Rŭm lyang* the spirits of all, who had died in more recent times, dwell in the form of shadows, while those who died soon after the world had been created, reside here in their bodily form, ready to return to the world should its inhabitants die out.

There are different accounts to be found among the various clans of the Lepchas regarding the way in which the *Mŭk nyam* is supposed to reach the *Rŭm lyang*. The Chronicles of the Maharajas of Sikkim mention a belief of the Sengdenmos, that the spirit goes to

5:Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer E,J-5 (1937, 1950) 1951
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carried out, while the basket and the two wooden plates are dragged along the path to the door. Once in the open, the basket is put in a tree, the *Chien lut* carried away to some other place and the image of Debrong Panoh's mother is thrown into the water-fall of a stream.

This rite contains some of the Bŏn elements mentioned before; further more this thunder and hail demon strongly resembles the appearance of gods as described by the Bonpos. Like many of the Bŏn deities, it is the personification of a natural phenomenon, depicted in the usual Bonpo manner, with nine faces and eighteen hands.

(5) For exorcising an evil spirit, who is causing an illness, several books must be chanted by a lama and two *deu*, called in Lepcha *chemen gedo* and *lumoo gedo* set upon a path. These Lepcha expressions are derived from the Tibetan terms *mTsho sman rgyal mdos* and *kLu mo rgyal mdos*, which are applied for two different kinds of thread-crosses, dedicated to certain groups of Nagas (*kLu*).

(6) While curing the illness, which had befallen a child, a horoscope was cast by a lama and it was decided that besides other rites a red thread-cross, called Tsen Deu, should be constructed. This *deu* is doubtlessly identical with a red *mDos* of the Tibetans, the *bTsan mdos* (pronounced *Tsen do*), which is constructed for averting the evil influence of the red *bTsan* demons.[31]

4. CEREMONY, PERFORMED BY LAMAS AND MUN FOR AVERTING AN ILLNESS

After a Mun has sacrificed an ox, some lamas erect a *torma* and sprinkle consecrated water and then make a tortoise, called *robe* in Lepcha—which corresponds to the Tibetan *Rube, Rus sbal*—which is drawn with its belly upward in powdered rice on a large mat. Afterwards, a square with various numbers, called *Miwua* (in Tibetan *sMe ba*)[32], is inscribed upon the body of the tortoise, in the following way:

4	9	6
3	5	1
8	2	7

5:Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer E,J-5 (1937,1950)1951
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6. THE GYAPCHI KLON CEREMONY

This complicated ceremony is carried out concurrently by lamas and Mun priests in order to free a sick person from the evil influence of certain spirits, the presence of which was recognized by divination. As this rite has already been described elsewhere,[37] only the image used and the various thread-crosses will be described.

During this ceremony, five images are made of buck-wheat dough and placed in front of an altar-like structure. Four of the effigies, said to represent male spirits, are depicted alike, that is standing, with raised hands; some scratches in the dough indicate that they are wearing a garment. The names of these four supernatural beings are Chyong moong, Deut moong, Lho moong and Sher moong. Their respective colours, rendered in the same order, are green, red, yellow and white. The fifth image is that of Mamoo moong, a female supernatural being whom we encountered previously. Her image is black and she is portrayed with legs apart, the sexual organs greatly exaggerated. Behind each of the images, a *yeu* of the respective colour is planted, together with two *tamsing* and two sticks with tufts of wool.

Another image, used in this rite, is called the "house owner". It is surrounded by small butter discs displaying images, impressed with wooden printing blocks (the Tibetan *Zan par*). Some of these depict the supernatural beings who preside over the cycle of twelve years.[38] The image of the "house owner" is connected with one *yeu*, two *tamsing* and two *pong*. The thread-cross used in this case is multi-coloured.

7. RITUAL, PERFORMED BY A LAMA TO APPEASE THE FEVER DEVIL DEUT-MOONG

After reading prayers, the lama, using bamboo sticks and blue thread, constructs a thread-cross, which is called *moong-ka deu bitomu*. After placing various sorts of grain, leaves, some fried rice and bread into the *deu*, he makes

7: Hooker D-5 (1849-1851) 1854
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Bhotanese, and others. Rheumatism is frequent, and intermittent fevers, with ague; also violent and often fatal remittents, almost invariably induced by sleeping in the hot valleys, especially at the beginning and end of the rains. The European complaints of liver and bowel disease are all but unknown. Death is regarded with horror. The dead are burnt or buried, sometimes both; much depending on custom and position. Omens are sought in the entrails of fowls, &c., and other vestiges of their savage origin are still preserved, though now gradually disappearing.

The Lepchas profess no religion, though acknowledging the existence of good and bad spirits. To the good they pay no heed; "Why should we?" they say, "the good spirits do us no harm; the evil spirits, who dwell in every rock, grove, and mountain, are constantly at mischief, and to them we must pray, for they hurt us." Every tribe has a priest-doctor; he neither knows nor attempts to practise the healing art, but is a pure exo[illegible]st; all bodily ailments being deemed the operations of devils, who are cast out by prayers and invocations. Still they acknowledge the Lamas to be very holy men, and were the latter only moderately active, they would soon convert all the Lepchas. Their priests are called "Bijooas:" they profess mendicancy, and seem intermediate between the begging friars of Tibet, whose dress and attributes they assume, and the exorcists of the aboriginal Lepchas: they sing, dance (masked and draped like harlequins), beg, bless, curse, and are merry mountebanks; those that affect more of the Lama Boodhist carry the "Mani," or revolving praying machine, and wear rosaries and amulets; others again are all tatters and rags. They are often employed to carry messages, and to transact little knaveries. The natives stand in some awe of them, and being besides of a

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and each patron of some sort of grain. These seven brothers are progenitors and ancestors and guardians of the Lepchas. They were created by Itpomu who placed rice and millet and maize in their charge when she made these crops. The people of Mayal live in seven huts; they are immortal; each morning they are infants,—at midday they are grown men, and in the evening they are old. They all have huge goitres and it is from them that people know that big goitres are a sign of prosperity and a large harvest. They wear the traditional Lepcha costume of clothes made of nettle cloth and small basket-work hats. They are between gods and ordinary human beings; they are not gods because they live on earth; but they are not human because they do not die. The land of Mayal is far up the Tulung valley somewhere behind the Kinchenjunga; at some time in the past the road thither was open, but now it has been closed and is as unpassable as the cutting edge of a knife.

On the road to Mayal are three guardian spirits called Sog-po, who are brothers; the eldest is called Mayel-Yook-Rum, he is also called Pong-rum when the hunters offer sacrifice to him; his younger brothers, Mi-tik and Tom-tik, are cruel deities who kill and eat men and animals. Tom-tik is like a bear. They are the special guardians of the ibex and the musk deer which come from Mayal, which is the reason why these animals are so difficult to kill. In the country of Mayal crops grow a hundred times as big as here, and it is from this country that the seeds of our present crops originate. These crops are always ripe for harvesting. The migratory birds are called 'Mayel fo', birds of Mayal, and they are sent out by the people of Mayal to the Lepchas to indicate the seasons and the times when various agricultural acts should be performed. When the time comes for the migrating birds to return to Mayal, the parent birds die on the way and only the newly hatched ones survive the arduous journey to Mayal from whence they are sent the next year to act as indicators for the Lepchas. The people of Mayal have no wives living with them but the two oldest of the people Adoo-Yook and Alau-Yook, have in a way, as wives the two sisters Talyeu-Nimu and Sanguo-Nimu, who are the spirits of the earth: these two women lie on their backs on the earth

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776 mountain regions he is called Mo-nom-dju, for it is he who leads
224 the chamois and the wild sheep, Mo-nom, to the hunters. In the lower hills he is called Se-go-bu-log-dju and delivers up stag, bears and other game. In the lower plains he is called Se-wing-dju, or the one who helps capture the game of the plains. Gom-shi and Gom-yu-rum are hunting gods and it is they who instil in the hunters the passion for hunting. The god of the hunters is worshipped exclusively by the men and the women do not in any way participate in the worship. We shall consider the details of this sacrifice at a later stage.
[773 The Rong claim that "Rum-zong-pa-no gave them bows,
226] arrows and knives and taught them how to shoot fish."

776 The wife of Rum-zong-pa-no is Na-li-pun-di who ins-
[773] tructed the women in the arts of farming, weaving and taught them housework and the use of the sickle. Sa-dju is another god venerated as god of agriculture. If a housewife who
[781] is possessed by Sa-dju dies, the spirit continues to possess one of her daughters even though the daughter may have in the meanwhile left the family through marriage. This deity appears to the women in dreams in the guise of an old man.
[787] If the apparition has a large goitre it augurs well for a rich harvest. If on the other hand it has no goitre at all it omens a bad harvest.

782 We already know from myths related earlier, that the
776 Lepchas were given the first seeds by higher beings. These seeds were gaguni, which has the appearance of a millet-like maize; sama, a kind of white millet; goya, dry rice, and mokai, red maize. The dog plays an important role in the obtaining of rice and hence the Rong give, each time, some
[231] portion of the rice they eat to the dog. We have noticed how, after a meal of rice, the remnants are scattered on the floor, and the dogs, which otherwise are not allowed inside the house, came in and ate the rice. The sacrifice to the god of agriculture is usually offered by the housewife. Nevertheless the man can offer the sacrifice if for some grave reason the woman is unable to do so. Man is not altogether excluded from the performance of the sacrifice, as is the case with the women in the sacrifice to the god of the hunters.

776 The family or household god is Rum-fat, who is the protector of domestic animals. The two gods of procreation,

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he had done this, he went up to Tiamtan where he built a palace and we, the Rong folk, believe he still lives there. It is a country that lies midway between heaven (Rum-lyang) and earth."[56]

The prime characteristic of the Mun or the Bong-thing is the heavenly calling to officiate as intermediaries between god and man. The Ling-gu Lepcha from Maria-Basti relates an interesting fact: "If, in a dream, a man sees a thread descend on himself from heaven, he has to interpret it as a summons from heaven to be a Bong-thing or a Mun. Those pre-elected in this manner must necessarily obey the summons and dedicate themselves to this office. It may happen that a man sees the thread descend on someone else. In this case he is not bound to reveal his dream to the person concerned, who will in any case obey the summons. If however anyone cuts the thread all of a sudden as the thread is descending on the elected one, death will unexpectedly overtake the one so elected."

The Dān-si Bong-thing from Ka-fār Basti gives us an illuminating account of his experience in this regard. "Before I became a Bong-thing," he narrates, "I became like one possessed, and was driven into the heart of the forest. I was utterly downcast and goaded on to a state of despair. As time elapsed, I got accustomed to this state and began to perceive the animals of the forest. The spirit then carried me to a dizzy and precipitous rocky projection where I spent the night. At midnight I was filled with superhuman strength, so much so that I uprooted a gigantic tree. The following morning the spirit brought me back. A man who had noticed me uprooting the tree reported the incident to my parents, who decided that I should become a Bong-thing."

At the age of about sixteen, the Gu-gu Bong-thing suffered from a malingering illness which left him in a state of perpetual exhaustion. As this state continued with an alarming uninterruptedness, his parents decided that he should become a Bong-thing. He agreed to this and became a disciple of the Bong-thing, A-thi.

56. *op. cit.* p. 340 sq.

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793 The Han-bu-ni from Git-biyong gives us a rather detailed report of her initiation. "My maternal grandmother was a Mun. At the age of nine I fell ill and commenced speaking [787] a variety of languages. The people said, 'It is the spirit of 775] her grandmother, the Mun let, who speaks through her.' So my parents summoned a Bong-thing who performed the sacrifice of initiation, offering a bullock, a pig and a goat. Thereafter I was apprenticed to a female Mun for a period of three years during which time I was taught the prayers, the traditions and the ceremonies. After the completion of my apprenticeship the sacrifice was renewed. I was given full powers and began to sacrifice independently. Should [782] I desire to conjure up my spirit, I offer chi, butter, and incense in sacrifice and the spirit quickly responds to my summons to appear. I notice at first a blurred object, like a cloud of dust approaching me. My heart tells me that the spirit is near."

This woman, who is over eighty years of age today, and is Mun as well as Andshemu, has recently become a [797] Christian. We asked her whether the old spirit did not harass her for having given up her former priesthood and ceased to honour it. "Not at all. The spirit does not torment me in the least," she replied. Later she proudly said to the Lepchas, "It is my privilege to instruct this great European priest who comes from China and Tibet, in the teachings of the Mun and the Bong-thing." She was very pleased to find us interested in the old traditions. She knew a little Tibetan, and loved to converse with us in that language.

796 A Rong woman, whose father and brother are both Bong-thing, has narrated to us the following story, "In the evening my father drank chi. This made him excited [535] and he danced through the night. Very often three more Bong-thing came to our house and they all danced together. That is customary with the Mun and the Bong-thing. In the neighbourhood there are three women and two men who hold their dances by turns in each other's houses. This dance festival must take place at least three times a year; —in April at the barley harvest; in September at the first [778] millet harvest, and finally in October at the second millet 782] harvest. Torma (Tibetan expression for sacrificial images)

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of rice and butter are in the first instance brought forward. These are offered with little roasted birds, fish, incense and chi, and in addition a rupee in money. Prior to the actual offering, garlands of flowers are prepared and hung up in the house. The flowers are called "Sa-gi." "Amial" means garlands, and it is from these that the festival derives its name "Sa-gi-sa-amial." The god of power is also called "Sa-gi." "Sa-gi-fat" means sacrifice and annual festival. After the performance of the sacrifice the men and women begin to dance, and during the dance they sometimes fall to the ground and twitch and tremble. They are then lifted up and continue with the dance. The onlookers keep watch to ensure that none of the dancers escapes from the room. The spirit of my father who is now dead has passed over to my brother, Sa-bö."

Next comes the actual vocation. This always takes place during an illness when the physical powers of the patient are at a low ebb. We had the opportunity of observing the case of a girl who was, however, not a Lepcha but a Kami. The sequence of events is nonetheless identical. The child is said to be possessed by a Limbu spirit and at such times she speaks the Limbu language. The people, therefore, insist that she must become a soothsayer. The girl gets epileptic fits and froths at the mouth. The nerves are upset and distraught and the people see in all this a case of possession by the spirit. The girl still is with her parents and prays each day at definite times to the spirit and renders it homage. At a later stage the girl is brought to a teacher ; not however to a Lepcha teacher, but to a Nepalese magician, since a Lepcha will not teach a member of another tribe.

All those who receive this summons from the spirit must necessarily answer the summons and go to a teacher who will give them the required initiation, instruction, practices, and teach them the prayers. A great sacrifice, mentioned by the Han-bu-ni Mun above, has to be performed by way of initiation. Gorer describes this ceremony as follows, "In the house a little table is set up. On it to the right lies a scarf of honour with a rupee. In the middle is a wooden vessel which is filled with chi and garnished with butter round the rim. On the right is a stone incense-burner filled with Tibetan

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incense, and dry twigs from the cypress tree. In front of the little table is a winnower on which parts of the animal sacrifices are arranged in the following manner: opposite the vessel is the skull turned towards the table. Behind it are the entrails. To the left of the skull is a hind leg, to the front is a foreleg. Between the foreleg and the entrails is a thigh with a little meat. When everything is arranged, the teacher sits behind the table a little to the left, in front of the scarf. His pupil sits on his right. Then he lays the scarf on the pupil's hand and recites the prayers, which the apprentice repeats after him sentence by sentence. Then the master makes a ceremonial speech to the initiated in which he explains: 'Now the price for the freeing of your body is paid to the demon, but under one condition, that you consecrate your life to the Mun-god, and that you offer up your body as his dwelling place.' After this speech he hands the vessel filled with the chi to his pupil so that he can drink from it three times from three different places. This drinking of the chi from the vessel garnished with butter stands for the actual ritual consecration. With this the pupil is bound for three years to study with his master. At the end of the instruction, a second sacrifice of a bullock is performed. With this the pupil is given full powers and can function independently.

The most important sacrificial offering for all these ceremonies is the bullock. An ox is desirable. If a pig is given the neophite will be unable to expel Lom-doon-moong (the devil of Jaundice). If a goat, he will be unable to expel Mat-moong, (the devil who produces various unpleasant symptoms which are the results of ancestral quarrels)."[56]

According to our investigations, the Mun and the Bong-thing are both equally powerful magicians. They only, can expel demons and appease the gods through sacrifice. Both, men as well as women, can be Mun. The Mun spirit is not a female spirit but can choose either men or women as its servants. The Bong-thing can only be a man. The Mun and the Bong-thing whom we were able to observe, do not wear any special ceremonial dress or ornaments during their activities, neither do they use the double skull-drum (damaru)

56. op. cit. p. 479.

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nor the big flat round Shaman-drum (rnga). For the sacrifice they do not use either the magic dagger (phur-bu) or the thunderbolt (rdo-rje), nor conch trumpets (dung), nor flutes made from human thigh bones (rkang-gling), nor the trident, nor the cup of the human skull (thod-pa). All the above mentioned articles are however indispensable to the Tibetan magicians, the Inner Asiatic and the Siberian Shamans. It is therefore evident, that the Mun and the Bong-thing cannot be identical with the Tibetan Bon-po as some scholars state. They belong rather to that primitive priest class, which has not been influenced by the typical Shamanism which operated in Tibet and spread from there to some Himalayan districts, to Inner and East Asia. The Mun and the Bong-thing are not allowed to practise any black magic as such. This is attributed to them by the neighbouring people, who consequently fear them greatly. During our investigations on this subject we repeatedly heard it said, "Only a wicked and demoralised Mun and Bong-thing would use his powers to harm another person, for their vocation is precisely to help people and to warn off all harm." The Mun wears no prayer cord. When he has to make a prophecy, he calls to his spirit, who comes on to his shoulder and speaks through his mouth. The Bong-thing has a prayer string, which he uses when prophesying. This string however, differs from the Tibetan one and has no definite number of beads.

In the white magic practised by the Lepchas we found many parallels with the ancient Chinese white magic, which had not as yet been influenced by the typical Inner Asiatic Shamanism. There is something in common to both in the matter of casting out demons. The magician compels the demon to enter into a pot of blood. Once the demon is in, he closes the pot and buries it.[97] Their dances have certain characteristics in common with the Wu,—the ancient Chinese magicians. In everything we find the content of the ancient class of magic which was widely spread and which preceded the Inner Asiatic Shamanism. There it received later the typical shaping which today, under the name of Shamanism

97. cfr. Dictionary of the Lepcha Language, op. cit. p. 394 a.b.

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796 walk in the courtyard. (Were anybody else to put on the neck-
[88] lace on me the gods would be angry, and the rash man would receive the burden of the gods.) When I return everybody is hushed even the children.

I blow into each person's face and on the offering;
[787] then I scatter chi and prophesy in a loud and audible voice the things which are going to take place in the following half year. After the prophecy, I recover consciousness; but not till cock crow next day do I feel all right again.

755 When I am called in the case of an illness, the god does not fully enter me but I see the devil which is attacking the sick person either in the form of some animals or insect or person, depending on which devil it is. Thus Lum-dong-
[776 mong appears in a pig, Sor-moog as a dirty ragged old woman,
787] Arot-moong as a red butterfly. I see these visions out of the corner of my eye; if I look directly there is nothing there. But I watch these devils carefully out of the corner of my eye; if they go away without eating anything the patient will recover quickly; but if they take food the patient will probably die though I only tell him that the illness is very serious."[59] (fig. 19.)

(*h*) The Sacrifices of the Mun and the Bong-thing

755 We had the opportunity of being present at and observing
782 the sacrifice for a sick woman, by the Lha-ba Bong-thing (who is also a Pau). This sacrifice is called Mung-zug-fat. Mung-zug means "to cast out demons"; "fat" is sacrifice. To start with, all the things necessary for the sacrifice are kept in readiness. The Torma of rice and butter are arranged. The chi containers are filled, the butter-lamps are put up; incense and holy water are kept ready. A bullock is then brought near the front door of the house. A rope is tied to its right horn and the other end of the rope is taken into the house, and the sick woman is asked to hold it in her hand. The Bong-thing then comes near the ox and says, "Instead of the life of the woman, take the life of the ox. I am giving you the life of this ox in lieu of the life of this woman. His

59. op. cit. p. 220 sq.

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On the right side of this plate is an earthenware pot filled with water. The Bong-thing sits in front of the sacrifice with his back to the fire. Beside him is an assistant holding a brazier with incense. The incense consists of dried twigs from the cypress trees of Tibet. The Lepchas call the tree "dag-dŏl-gung." The priest takes in his right hand the "purifier" which is made out of three branches of Amliso, *i.e.* Po-chior. He then summons the god and when the branches move to and fro, it is a sign that the spirit has come. Now the Bong-thing begins the sacrificial prayer, "Sang so (incense is burnt); tza ni bu tza lo! tzab den bu geno! (Incense offering! Tibetan name—magic formula, praying it, holy water is to be sprinkled from the pitcher; it appears to be corrupt Tibeta tzab, which is the same as chab, signifying water.)

"To the star god, the Gun dŏ god, the sun god, the Sam yig god, the Sog god, the Gŏm shi god, the Gŏm yu god (I make) this offering of incense. The offering (I make) in the smoke of incense. Come hither O gods! Gold Torma and money Torma I offer in sacrifice. Come hither Ka to and Gon hiu. I offer in sacrifice. Spirit of the millet beer—and spirit of the rice offering come hither. The sacrifice is offered, the incense offering is made. tza ni bu tza lo! tzab den bu geno (magic formula). Goddess Amu mŏn mu, Ha mu, Mi lig mu, Miă song mu, Chu mu, Yuk mu, Se mu; son Chu go ri go chen chen, daughter-in-law Nyom mu, father and mother! ∞

00. sa hor rum bu gun dŏ rum bu sa dzug rum bu sam yig rum bu
(to the) star god, Gun dŏ god, sun god, Sam yig god,

sog rum bu gŏm shi rum bu gŏm yu rum bu sang blong ga
Sog god, Gom shi god, Gŏm yu god, offering of incense

pŏ blong ga! (incense is offered here) kŏg ma o! dyăr pa dong, gom pa
in smoke, incense offering, in smoke! come here! Gold Torma, money

dong dzăn dong dăm dong hiu o! Ka to gon chiu blong ga! dzăn dong
Torma sacrifice! sacrifice! Ka to and Gon hiu come here! sacrifice,

hiu dăm dong hiu ma o. Chi log so log
sacrifice! Millet beer(spirit), rice offering (spirit)

blong ga dzăn dong hiu dăm dong hiu o! ŏn sang so! sang so!
come here! sacrifice! sacrifice! Incense offering, incense offering!

tza ni bu tza lo! tzab den bu geno! Amu mŏn mu, ha mu, mi lig mu,
(Magic formula while water is sprinkled) (All are names for the wife of

miă song mu, chu mu, yuk mu, se mu; chu go ri go chen chen bu
the God). (Name of the son of the Supreme God)